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ABSTRACT

In 1970 the Commission for Educational Reform, established by Peru's revolutionary government, published its General Report giving a detailed analysis of the old system's shortcomings, a statement of the philosophical principles which should guide any alternative system, and a description of the form which such an alternative pattern might take. The 1972 General Education Law instituted a new education system, "fundamentally humanist in inspiration and genuinely democratic in vocation". Underlying the new system was the concept of lifelong education. In particularly underprivileged rural areas, special programs were provided to offset the adverse effects of socioeconomic, cultural, and nutritional deprivation during the early stages of a child's development. The "Nucleos Educativos Communales" (NEC), the key element in the reform, incorporated all the educational services of the community and furnished the machinery by which the community could take its legitimate place in the educational process. Focusing on the NEC system, this publication examines the theory and practice of this educational reform and its relationships to other reforms. Discussed are the reform's philosophy and aims; innovative structures and reorientation; decentralization; the nuclear experiments; objectives and organizational structure; teaching staff; problems and solutions; and the educational centres at Villa el Salvador, Iscuchaca, and Inacita. (NQ)

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International Bureau of Education

Experiments and innovations in education 16

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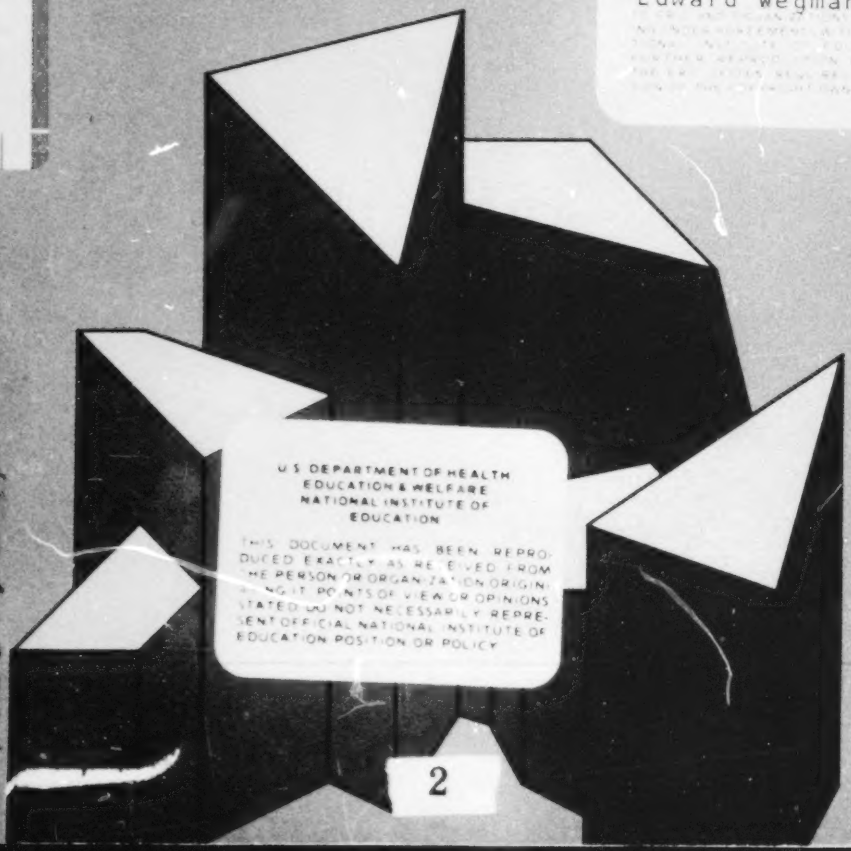
Educational reform in Peru

by Judithe Bizot

A study prepared for the International Educational Reporting Service

UNESCO BY
Edward Wegman



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Experiments and innovations in education No. 16

Educational reform in Peru

by Judithe Bizot

with an introduction by
Leopoldo Chiappo

A study prepared for the
International Educational
Reporting Service

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Preface

Ms. Judithe Bizot, a staff member of Unesco, was granted a nine months' study leave to carry out an independent research project in Peru. Her overall aim was to examine the theory and practice of the educational reform that has been introduced by the Peruvian Government and to understand its relationships to other reforms (industrial, agrarian, etc.). Specifically, she examined the 'Nucleos Educativos Communales' (NEC), which are considered by the Peruvian authorities to be the key element in the educational reform.

In collaboration with officials in the Ministry of Education, Ms. Bizot drew up her own programme, which was essentially devoted to marginal communities in remote, socio-economically under-privileged areas. In each of the areas selected she attended classes at various levels, joined the teams of educators responsible for evaluating the different NECs, talked to village representatives about the progress of nuclearization and the local people's understanding of the process, and attended a number of in-service teacher training seminars. Her role throughout was that of a 'learner' rather than that of an 'adviser'. Therefore, while the views expressed by the author are not necessarily those of Unesco they are surely those of a participant rather than that of an outsider.

The impression which emerges is that lifelong education is becoming a reality in Peru, even in the remotest areas, and that people are discussing, questioning and criticizing in a positive, dialectical manner the essential issues relevant to the development process. Though the process is far from being total and complete, the experience gained may be of value to those countries seeking to overhaul their societal structures.

The Secretariat wishes to express its thanks and appreciation to Ms. Bizot for her contribution to the series, and to Dr. Leopoldo Chiappo (Miembro del Consejo Superior de Educación del Ministerio de Educación) for his Introduction to the report.

Table of contents

Introduction *p. 1*

I. Background *p. 7*

II. The educational reform *p. 16*
Philosophy and aims *p. 17*
Innovative structures and reorientation *p. 19*
Decentralization *p. 25*

III. Nuclearization *p. 28*
The first nuclear experiment *p. 28*
The second nuclear experiment *p. 30*
Objectives and structure *p. 30*
Organizational structure *p. 33*
Teaching staff *p. 38*

IV. Three educational centres *p. 41*
Villa el Salvador
Iscuchaca *p. 46*
Imacita *p. 51*

V. Problems and solutions *p. 56*

Appendix I *p. 61*
Appendix II *p. 63*

Introduction

The Peruvian Revolutionary Government conceives development as a process of deep-rooted changes in the basic relationships between economic, political and social power, in such a way that a transfer of power is made by the oligarchies to the people who have regrouped themselves into new institutions, thus achieving an equitable redistribution of socially generated wealth. Economic growth and increased productivity and production alone do not lead to development; the structural transformation of society is also needed. Development implies, consequently, the elimination of the imbalances in internal structures and of the state of dependency of the traditional Peruvian society. Planning does not revolve around the context of these traditional structures, nor does it tend to preserve them, rather does it propose to transform them substantially by creating a new economic, political and social order. This means that the concept of development is indissolubly linked to the concept of structural change.

Education can be a basic factor in national development only when it is implemented within the overall context of other reforms, thus backing up, accelerating and helping to develop them. Education without structural transformation does not promote development but only helps to perpetuate a situation in which the few who are rich become even richer and the many who are poor will increase in number and will become even poorer. This judgement is clearly expressed in the Educational Reform Commission's General Report, published in Lima in 1970. It states that, "as the character and orientation of any national development policy depend basically on the character and orientation of the State's efforts, the final content of any educational policy will depend on the State's general policy. Consequently, the scope and goals of all educational reform processes will revolve around two main factors, both of a decidedly non-educational nature: on the one hand the national development policy and on the other the State's political orientation. Therefore, it follows that if the policy and educational activity of a revolutionary régime are to be authentic, they must

faithfully reflect the essential character and nature of this régime. Considered in this light any educational reform in Peru must contribute to transformations which the government has set as the objectives of structural change. Therefore it must fit the Peruvian model of revolutionary policy."

From the statistics given in the same report it is clear that educational problems are not solved solely by an increased budget allocation. Indeed, although the percentage of the GNP earmarked for education was one of the highest in Latin America, this did not prevent the number of illiterate people in the country from stagnating at approximately 4 million and the level of school drop-outs from being alarmingly high.

The facts lead the writers of the Report to the conclusion that the problem of education does not have an exclusive solution within its own ambit but rather that it is only a part of the general structure of the country whose ills are reflected in the educational system, which in turn is ailing and prevented from playing a positive role within this structure. Consequently the proposals to improve the educational structure are closely linked to those concerning the various aspects of the country's life.

Within the general framework of the objectives for change decided on, modifications in the educational structure seem harmoniously integrated into these plans as a basic factor. The educational project thus lies within the following broad lines, which emanate from the political plan of the revolution.

Humanistic value of education. References to humanism as a principle and an objective of the revolution occur in all the public declarations of the Peruvian leaders. The report of the Committee on the General Law on Education (decree-law 19326) stresses the profoundly humanistic inspiration and the genuinely democratic vocation of the new education. It goes on to link education closely with work, especially manual work, which the law conceives of as a joint effort towards the self-realization of the person through the production of goods and social services for the common good.

This tendency to integrate general education and training for work into a unified whole, contrasts with the trend in some 'developed' countries where proposed changes in the education system tend to lower the level of teaching in technical branches and to separate these more decisively from pure scientific education. This creates a selective system that eliminates from the most authentically general education the least endowed, who statistically

are always children from the poorest areas, thereby limiting from the outset the level of instruction of these groups to technical jobs. There is thus a vicious circle in which those whose potential to learn is lower because of their more difficult social position do not have the chance to develop intellectually because they are not given the opportunity to acquire knowledge which remains a privilege of the dominating élite.

Creation of a national culture which destroys the traditional alienating myths and which is engaged in building a new country where all men's dignity will be respected. It is based on the notion that the cultural tradition in Peru is the tradition of the colonized countries. The nation's identity has hitherto been decided by others. Accepting these leaders chosen from outside prevents the initiation of an authentic cultural process. Thus, for the people, cultural creation is not a great desire for originality, but an indispensable premise for the building of a home in which they may live in dignity and no longer as the wretched and disinherited of the earth. This cannot be achieved by following in the wake of the former colonizers, but involves proposing distinct prospects for the future.

General and massive participation of the population in an educational system that embraces not only formal schooling but all aspects of the life of the people implies that education is intimately linked to physical, social, cultural and politico-economic reality and is part of the daily business of all the institutions of the country. This involvement, says the report of the Committee on the General Law on Education, implies the necessary participation of everyone in the changing and the building of the new society. Education is not genuine and complete except as education for participation, but it cannot reach this goal unless it is itself inspired by participation. The law calls for the participation of pupils, parents and the community in the educational process at all levels of education. Thus there is a definite break with the opposing but equally harmful defects of traditional education: the authoritarian state education and the discriminatory private education. Community education, established in an educational entity through dialogue and responsible participation, shall be set up on a solid basis in its place.

Groups such as the Sinamos (National System for the Promotion of Social Mobility) play an important part in the achievement of

these aims, but only at first since the revolution has to bring about a political organization making participation possible without the specialized backing of the bureaucracy. It will be the militant members of the revolutionary political organization themselves who, without sponsorship or tutelage, will form the organized basis of the revolution; they will not only support the revolution but also share in the political power of decision making which at present is represented exclusively by the revolutionary group of the armed forces. Planning is thus no longer the exclusive job of experts and office work but becomes a job in which the general public can and must participate. The plan of work of Sinamos must be visualized as constantly moving from the bottom towards the top, promoting and stimulating participation of the people, and bringing support from the top towards the bottom. The scheme of organization includes the basic nuclei in which there is participation of the population, such as trade unions, co-operatives, societies, universities, etc., which because of their economic, social and political importance are the basic entities for activities which promote social mobility.

New educational forms are being created and developed as a result of the above-mentioned principle. They permit the most varied teaching techniques and methods, based on the resources available in each zone or community. These methods are neither pre-established nor suggested; freedom of action is given to all community organizations or groups which are ready to participate in the educational activity, with full confidence in the imagination and initiative of the people.

A plan of such scope as the one proposed would be beyond the financial possibilities of a country with such limited resources as Peru's if it were to be centrally financed and carried out. Decentralization and participation of the people are therefore essential to the success of the project.

The report of the Committee on the General Law on Education says: 'A rigid, monopolistic régime cannot last if we consider that education is fundamentally a process of freeing and if we recognize that the resources of the formal education apparatus are insufficient. Therefore it is necessary to develop a non-formal education system... The changes that the law introduces cannot be carried out without seriously altering teaching principles, attitudes and practice. There is an urgent need for a new way of teaching, imbued with the values of national criticism, creation and

co-operation, as well as a new, flexible and varied approach based on a thorough understanding of the pupil and of social reality, with a more serious and sounder scientific basis and a new spirit which is both realistic and inspired with educational inventiveness.'

Bilingual literacy teaching is being introduced in order to include aboriginal groups in the cultural process. It enables them to advance towards an easier, surer and more lasting cultural unification with the population of the country by showing respect for, and the importance of, the cultural patterns of each ethnic group.

The vast majority of the Peruvian people had been deprived of any cultural expression and participation not because of a lack of education but rather because of a structure that placed the masses on the fringe of the decision-making power and of the equal enjoyment of material wealth. Underdevelopment, the age-old poverty of a large majority of Peruvians and their political marginalization were thus the determining factors in their cultural backwardness which played a role in the stagnation and crystallization of social injustice.

Peruvian thought at the time of drawing up the educational plans can be briefly expressed as follows: Education in itself is not the basis of development nor even its prime force, as optimists of development and of making a revolution for education naively or astutely maintain. Only a deep-rooted reform in education is possible when it takes place within the context of socio-economic structural reforms which affect the ownership of the means of production and which break-up monopolies - either private or other - and domination. The very widespread concept that 'first we must educate' has been the trick of those who wanted to put off structural reforms indefinitely. And in this there was also disdain for the masses who were considered incapable of assuming responsibility as free agents and not alienated in the production process. Exactly the opposite is true: workers bound to units of production as participating agents and not as mere instruments receive from the new structural situation the necessary human incentives for education to have a real meaning for them as it helps them to assume their full rights. The educational reform of the Peruvian revolution therefore is not an isolated and preliminary fact; on the contrary, it is an integral part of the structural change of Peruvian society.

The educational reform is part of a vast plan (Inca Plan) which as General Velasco Alvarado says aims to construct a social democracy with full participation. Its essential elements are the nationalization of all aspects of the petroleum industry, 'the firm and active defense of national sovereignty and dignity', the agrarian reform based on the principle that 'the land belongs to the persons who work it', the industrial reform which allows the worker to participate in the management, use and ownership of the enterprise, and in a permanent and self-supported industrial development. Finally the national daily papers have been expropriated and transferred to the most important social organizations of the country. Although not foreseen in the Inca Plan this solution to the ownership of the mass media of the large national newspapers is the most progressive measure of free socialism.

This process of deep-rooted socio-economic change, inspired by a philosophy of participation by the people in decision making, was the impulse behind the setting up of numerous basic and intermediary organizations in which the idea of education amply transcended the classical concept of instruction. 'Understandably not many people outside the ambit of activity of these basic institutions seem to know what is going on' said General Juan Velasco Alvarado in a speech on 28 July 1974, 'but this does not reduce the significance of this great process of free and autonomous organization of the people. The men and women of the Ande and the Coast, the hitherto ignored and humble peasants, the youth of the forgotten villages, the workers in factories and industrial enterprises, in short the real Peru is beginning to speak up and be heard for the first time in the history of our country. Their voice still lacks confidence, and is insecure and sometimes timid. But it is the voice of a people who after long centuries are beginning to rise up and make their way.'

I. Background

> *Peru's primary characteristic is disarticulation - the existence of a series of profound contrasts and unequal developments. Society is divided into geographic, economic, social and cultural islands that give the impression of a loosely connected archipelago.*[1]

Although the Armed Forces took power in 1968, and initiated several radical transformations within the country, the general orientation of the educational reform was not made known until 1970. The whole complex of reforms had been conceived as a social necessity and a fundamental feature of the structural changes to be effected. To understand the need for these changes, it is necessary to examine the socio-historical development of Peru - its divisions and its subcultures, all of which imposed a system of internal and external domination.

Throughout the history of Peru, successive governments have been confronted with one inescapable reality which, to a greater or lesser degree, conditions every aspect of the nation's life and pre-eminently perhaps its educational structures. This reality is the sheer diversity of the country, topographic diversity, climatic, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, a fragmentation so pronounced that some authors have referred to the nation as 'many Perus'.

The half-million square miles of Peruvian territory are divided by the vast mountain system of the Andes, running roughly north-northwest by south-southeast, into three sharply differentiated regions. Dense jungle, permanently snow-covered peaks and gigantic chasms constitute formidable natural obstacles which make communication between these areas hazardous and, in places, virtually impossible. Until recently, communication of any kind simply did not exist and, as an inevitable consequence, the regions evolved in isolation, as all but self-contained entities, while

1. Mar, J. Matos. *Idea y diagnostico del Peru*. Lima, I.E.P., 1966.

within these entities topographical barriers led to the formation of separate communities, each with its own structures, customs and, very often, its own language.

Since the 16th century, the most important of the three regions has been the Pacific coastal zone or *costa*. This is one of the most arid areas in the world, where rainfall is exceedingly rare, yet the relative humidity is nearly 100 per cent. It is the economic and political core of the nation. The fifty-odd streams which cross it make it the centre of Peru's commercial agriculture, with crops of cotton, sugar-cane, alfalfa and rice being raised in the fertile valleys. Important petroleum fields are located in this region and the major urban centres are concentrated there.

In total contrast to the coastal desert is the *Sierra*, a series of huge mountain chains, interspersed with high plateaux, precipitous canyons and luxuriant valleys, in one of which - the valley of the Huatenay - the Incas founded their empire. Mostly, however, the cold dry climate severely limits natural vegetation and agricultural possibilities. Even the best agricultural land which pre-1968 was occupied by large agricultural estates or *haciendas* is scarce and of low productivity. The Indians or *Campesinos* eke out a subsistence living by growing potatoes, barley and wheat, whereas their ancestors were able to cultivate most of the mountain sides by means of an ingenious irrigation system and thus profit from much greater amounts of fertile land. Today the Campesinos still graze, along with sheep and beef cattle, the traditional herds of llamas, alpacas and vicunas.

Largest of the three regions, since it covers more than half of the national territory, is the *montana* east of the Andes, comprising the *ceja de montana*, where the soils are of limited agricultural value but where a number of farmlands have been opened up by the migrants from the *sierra*, and the lowlands of the *selva*, which contain the Amazonian rain forest. Less than 10 per cent of the population live in this huge region, inhabited mainly be primitive tribes. Thus the area remains largely unexplored and unexploited to this day, although recently the government has begun exploiting the petroleum resources near Iquitos.

The ethnic aspects of Peru are even more numerous than the topographical ones. For thousands of years the country was occupied by Indian tribes who had gradually drifted down from North America and who had little contact with each other. There may have been some fairly extensive military conquest in A.D. 1000 when the

Tiahuanaco culture dominated much of what is now Peru, but the most significant development occurred in the 15th century when the Incas began their process of expansion.

Harsh as the Incas showed themselves, however, in repressing revolts and in imposing religious beliefs, they tended to merge with existing regional civilizations rather than to destroy them. The critical change in the destiny of Peru was brought about by the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century.

In certain respects, Spanish rule was as flexible as that of the Incas. But, apart from the forcible introduction of Christianity, there was one vital difference between the two regimes: the Incas had recognized an obligation towards their subject peoples, whereas the Spaniards tended to think only of acquiring the benefits and privileges of conquerors.

The Spanish conquest of Peru, moreover, did not only mean the introduction of a European population but also, in the course of time, the creation of a community of mixed Spanish-Indian ancestory, the *Mestizos*. Black slaves, too, were imported from Africa and, in the 19th century, Chinese labourers were brought in to work on the railways. Later still, Japanese and North Americans began to migrate to Peru. Today it is estimated that approximately 46 per cent of the population is of indigenous Indian stock, between 10 and 15 per cent of Spanish origin, with something in the region of 40 per cent made up of Mestizos, the remainder being Chinese, Japanese, Black and either North American or European.

Peru is relatively free from overt racial discrimination but socio-cultural discrimination does exist and the Whites and Mestizos on the coast have a particular disdain for the people of the Sierra. Because of the harsh climate in the Sierra and extreme poverty, the Indians tend to migrate towards the coastal area in search of better conditions. Consequently, between 1940 and 1971 there was an increase of more than 50 per cent in the urban population and this trend is likely to continue, creating large, unwieldy shanty towns where employment possibilities are almost non-existent. For the most part, these migrants, in their determination to adapt as quickly as possible to the Mestizo society, reject their own culture, language, dress and customs. On the other hand, those who remain in the Sierra feel a total distrust and fear of the urban Mestizo and have combined apparent submissiveness with a stubborn refusal to accept anything from outside. These traits have enabled them to survive through centuries of oppression and

exploitation. In the main, the Indian population has tried to avoid all contact with the authorities and official institutions, including the schools which were inimical to their culture and values.

Another type of hostility or social discrimination which is beginning to appear exists between the indigenous tribes in the Selva and the 'colons' - those who have come from the Sierra or costa seeking a better life. Previous governments began a colonization process of the Selva in an effort to make more land available. This has met only with limited success as the 'colons' have a great deal of difficulty in adapting to the climate, while agricultural conditions are in fact rather difficult for campesinos from outside the area. The selva is seasonally flooded and soils are poor, sandy, leached out and hence nearly worthless for commercial agriculture. In many instances the 'colons' have occupied the land traditionally belonging to the tribes. This has aroused serious conflicts as the tribes' existence is still based on hunting and small-scale agriculture. They are therefore accustomed to a more unsettled type of life and have so far been able to preserve their nomadic habits.

Such prejudices and discrimination between groups have added to the other cleavages existing in Peru.

Since it is calculated that rather more than 100 Indian languages and dialects are spoken in Peru, it might be thought that the introduction of yet another language, Spanish, was of small importance. In fact, its importance can scarcely be over-emphasized, for it was swiftly imposed as the 'national' language - a euphemism for the language of the governing élite.

The disruptive cultural effect of an alien language is matched by the inequitable socio-economic consequences of Spanish colonization. The *montana*, except when such natural resources as rubber have been exploited at particular periods, has, in social and economic terms, been left as a rule to fend for itself, but in the *costa*, industry, finance and agriculture have since the beginning of the colonial era been the preserve of a Spanish and Mestizo oligarchy, as have the *haciendas* of the Sierra, which relied on what amounted to Indian slave labour.

Politically as well as economically, power has historically been wholly in the hands of a small 'Hispanic' élite concentrated in Lima and paralleled by a series of provincial élites which sometimes found themselves in conflict but which, more often, combined to exercise an influence out of all proportion to their

numbers. It would, of course, be absurd to pretend that all Spanish and Mestizo Peruvians belonged to the omnipotent 'upper class' but it is they, along with other foreigners in the 20th century, who have traditionally furnished the nation's political representatives, the owners or managers of the *haciendas*, the departmental prefects, the judges and administrators. Between them and the Indian population, the cleavage has been complete.

With political authority and decision-making, economic power and cultural patterns all controlled by the Spanish, foreign or Mestizo segment of the population, it is hardly surprising that education, in turn, should have reflected this fundamental imbalance. The system, such as it was, set up by the early colonists was a more or less faithful reproduction of the Spanish model, with no concessions to the country's particular requirements. As time went on, the structures became less rigid, the curricula more liberal and, by the middle of the 19th century, decrees were issued which provided - at any rate in theory - for free education at all levels. The laws of 1901, 1905, 1921 and 1941 reaffirmed the principle of free and compulsory education, regulated teachers' salaries, granted autonomy to the universities and instituted vocational education.

Despite these apparent improvements in the education system, it could fairly be argued that Peruvian education has traditionally perpetuated division and domination. The system is the product of a constant introduction of foreign ideas and technology. These foreign models, however, did little to alter the Spanish heritage of a system directed towards perpetuating an élite upper-class culture, since the socio-economic basis on which that élite rested remained unchanged.

Mariategui, a Peruvian social historian, says of this problem that 'The superposition of conjoined and insufficiently adapted foreign elements is apparent in the process of public education, as in other aspects of our life, and this problem lies at the very heart of Peru, which is the offspring of conquest. We are not a people which assimilates ideas and men from other nations and which impregnates them with our feelings and habits, thereby enriching our national spirit without distorting it. We are a people in which the indigenous population and the conquerors live together without becoming one, without even understanding each other...Hence our education is not imbued with a national spirit but rather with a colonial and colonizing spirit...The Spanish

inheritance was not exclusively psychological and intellectual; it was above all economic and social. The privilege of education continued for the simple reason that the privilege of wealth and caste continued. The aristocratic and literary concept of education faithfully reflected a feudal regime and economy.[2]

The General Report drawn up by the Educational Commission of the Armed Forces Government in 1970 reiterates Mariategui's analysis and demonstrates all too clearly that the concrete achievements were considerably less impressive than the relevant legislation. It revealed not only that the education system was fundamentally inadequate to cope with the complex problems requiring solution but also that it served to perpetuate and even aggravate the economic, social and cultural inequities of Peruvian society.

Superficially, certain of the figures cited in the Report might be thought to show that steady progress was being made under the old régimes. Between 1958 and 1968, for example, the number of primary schools rose from 13,473 to 20,049 while the number of secondary establishments rose from 662 to 1,805. Towards the end of this period, moreover, Peru was spending close to 5 per cent of the Gross National Product on education. School enrolment increased by almost 100 per cent, and a significantly higher proportion of students were completing the secondary course.

In actual fact, however, the situation was far from being as satisfactory as the statistics seem to indicate. More schools were certainly being built - but almost exclusively in the urban areas where they were of most benefit to the Spanish-Mestizo population. The expansion, in any case, as the Commission observed, was 'structurally unhealthy' since, with ill-conceived curricula, with little but insignificant attempts made to allow for the multiplicity of languages, 'an increase in enrolment automatically implied an increase in the number of drop-outs'.

Sporadic efforts had been made to revise the curricula and to relate teaching methods more closely to the needs and desires of the population as a whole; but such efforts constituted an essentially piecemeal approach which left whole communities subject to a system which did nothing to prepare them for life after leaving school - if, indeed, they were fortunate enough to attend school at all.

2. Mariategui, José C. *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana.* Havana, Casa de las Américas, 1963.

Again, notwithstanding the 5 per cent of the Gross National Product devoted to education, the number of children who managed to graduate from secondary school was still only 12 out of every 100 enrolled. In absolute terms - and hence in terms of absolute deprivation - this signified that, during the period concerned, 43,226 children completed secondary schooling - and 366,699 did not. Taking the primary and secondary levels together, the average time which a Peruvian child could expect to spend at school amounted to barely three years. At the tertiary level, approximately 50 per cent of the total expenditure on education benefited less than one per cent of the student population. Nor do these figures take account of those who, for one reason or another, did not enrol at all: in 1973 it was calculated that nearly one million of the economically active population had never received instruction of any kind.

The adult illiteracy rate in Peru - one of the highest in Latin America - can be all too easily understood from even a cursory listing of the defects in the education system prior to the reform instituted by the Armed Forces in 1972, not a few of them due to the fact that senior appointments to the Ministry of Education were frequently governed by political considerations. To begin with there was a gross neglect of marginal groups. No doubt topographical difficulties and the wide dispersion of the inhabitants explain partly, even if they do not justify, this neglect as far as the rural areas are concerned, although it is certain that the failure to offer better living conditions and improved salaries for rural teachers also played its part. The same neglect, however, was equally apparent in the urban districts and here can only be ascribed to a complete disregard for children from the less favoured socio-economic strata. The so-called 'poverty syndrome' reinforced this marginalization - children from under-privileged areas had such nutritional and psychological deficiencies that they were unable to participate and progress with others of a more favoured class. In most cases such children simply had to drop out. Sheer economic necessity often required children to help in the fields or otherwise contribute to the family's survival when normally they should have been attending school. Even where school attendance was feasible, the cultural level of the parents was likely to be inadequate to sustain and encourage the child's involvement in the education process.

The subjects taught, the methods employed, the values inculcated were all conceived in terms of Spanish-Mestizo culture and

economic privilege. Abstract educational content and undue emphasis on rote learning tended to obstruct the development of any creative abilities. This in turn reinforced the *ex cathedra* approach of classroom teachers. Schools were not organized for any practical work but existed for the sole purpose of funneling a handful of fortunate adolescents through to university.

No training was provided for the numerous adolescents and adults who never reached university and, indeed, who seldom received schooling of any kind. An adult education system did exist but its content and methods were of a type suitable not for adults but for children. It did not allow for diversified training and was therefore unrelated to the employment market.

Similarly, education was used not as an instrument for forging a sense of national identity - nowhere more necessary than in Peru with all the divisions already noted - but, on the contrary, as a means of preserving those divisions in the interest of the dominant class.

Dominance, indeed, in one form or another, could almost be described as the keystone of Peruvian education in the past - dominance of a small minority over the vast majority, dominance of foreign educational models, dominance of an inflexible bureaucracy with no regard to local circumstances or needs, dominance of a traditional academic system based on abstract programme content. As the Peruvian philosopher and educator, Salazar Bondy, has said: 'The problem of Peruvian education cannot be separated from the problem of Peruvian culture if only because education is the vehicle by which cultural products are trasmitted, social achievements expanded and the necessary psycho-social means for constant creation and recreation generated. A dominating culture such as this, i.e., one marked by the negative influence of internal and external domination, can only exist where education is poorly oriented and alienating as revealed by the diagnosis of Peruvian education. Peruvian education suffers from these defects because both the society and the nation are characterized by dominance and thus give rise to a corresponding culture. This culture determines the spirit and content of the educational process which therefore continues to operate as an alienating factor. Similarly, because education is marked by all the defects of underdevelopment, it cannot serve as a suitable instrument to bring about substantial change in the dominant culture which impregnates its principles, ideas and basic transactions.'[3]

3. Bondy, A.S. *La reforma de la educación peruana*. Lima, Ministerio de la Educación, 1972.

The task confronting the new regime was to eradicate the dominance-dependence relationship in all its manifestations, to replace the 'many Perus' with one Peru in which all Peruvians could participate on a basis of genuine equality.

II. The educational reform

For centuries, Peruvian governments had accepted the nation's geographical, ethnic and linguistic divisions as part of the natural order of things, as phenomena which could not be changed even if it had been desirable to do so. The various forms of dominance had been regarded as phenomena which perhaps could be changed but which, at any rate from the viewpoint of the ruling élite, it was not desirable to change. That the education system was hopelessly inadequate to cope with the socio-economic problems stemming from these different phenomena, that it was hopelessly inadequate even to perform its basic educational function - this, too, seems to have been accepted with a singular equanimity, if we are to judge by what was actually done (or rather, not done) to improve it.

The revolutionary government was notably revolutionary in its insistence on the fact that not only did education have an essential part to play in the whole life of the nation but that the reform of the education system which this implied could be fully effective only if it were geared to all the necessary reforms in other sectors. This approach was adumbrated in 1969 by the Minister of Education, who observed: 'We are convinced that there is an enormous disparity between our present education system and the needs arising from the social situation in Peru. For this reason reform must be total, that is to say, there must be changes in education from its very foundations to its operative aspects, such as infrastructure, curricula, methodology and teacher training.'[4] Similarly, in a Message to the Nation on 28 July 1970, the President of the Republic emphasized that, 'unless there is an enduring, far-reaching and effective transformation of Peruvian education, there can be no guarantee of the success and continuity of the revolution's other structural reforms. Thus educational reform,

4. *Reforma de la educación peruana: informe general.* Lima, Ministerio de la Educación, 1970.

the most complex but perhaps the most important of all, is a vital necessity for Peru's development and a major objective of our revolution.'[5]

As a first step towards achieving this objective, the revolutionary government established a Commission for Educational Reform. In 1970, the Commission published its General Report, a remarkably comprehensive document containing a detailed analysis of the shortcomings inherent in the old system, a statement of the philosophical principles which should guide any alternative system and a description of the form which such an alternative pattern might take.

Philosophy and aims

The Commission's ambitious premise was that the ultimate goal of any education system must be to create 'the new Peruvian man in a new Peruvian society'. To realize this goal, it was argued that there would have to be radical change in attitudes and values, a transformation which could only be brought about through 'conscientization', defined in the subsequent General Law on Education as an 'educational process whereby individuals and social groups gain a critical awareness of the historical and cultural world in which they live, shoulder their responsibilities and undertake the necessary action to transform it.'[6]

A logical, indeed an inevitable, product of 'conscientization', in the Commission's judgement, would be a genuine participation by the individual and the community - eventually in all sectors of national life, more immediately in the key sector of education. Collaboration would replace manipulation and learning would become a dynamic and creative praxis rather than consist of a passive absorption of abstract concepts.

In this new vision of education, 'conscientization' plus participation would produce citizens who were not only ready to assume their responsibilities but who were aware of their rights, individuals with a sense of their own cultural identity but also imbued with a respect for all cultures as being equally valid, anxious to preserve their particular ethnic and linguistic heritage but at the same time integrated into the nation as a

5. *Reforma de la educación peruana: informe general.* Lima, Ministerio de Educación, 1970.
6. Ley General de Educación, Decreto Ley No. 19326. Lima, Ministerio de Educación, 1972.

whole, seeing their labour not as a burden placed on them by oppressive forces but as an enrichment for themselves and a contribution to the welfare of the whole community.

But just as it would be incumbent on the new Peruvian society, through a transmutation of the educational process, to help create the new Peruvian man, so the new man would be called on to help in shaping the new society. Estrangement between the individual and his social environment - the endemic modern phenomenon of alienation - would have to make way for a genuine interchange, each stimulating and strengthening the other. The self-affirmation and independence of the individual, the community and the sub-cultures would be part of a process leading to society's elimination of the internal marginalization which had plagued Peru for so long. The individual's sense of belonging to a cohesive national entity would provide a barrier against external domination; his acceptance of labour 'as the exercise, in a spirit of unity, of the ability to realize individual potential in the production of goods and social services for the common good' would make it possible to build 'a society of disalienated workers, free men and women, and not to create a "labour force" that can be used for any purpose, a mere supply of exploitable "human resources" or a mere addition to the "human capital" as it is mistakenly termed.'[7]

Ultimately, the overriding concern of the Commission was nothing so limited as what is usually understood by the term 'educational reform'. The aim was not, in fact, to reform education but to revolutionize it, and not do so as though it existed *in vacuo* but to revolutionize it as one element, however vital, in the totality of Peruvian life. The sequence implicit in the Commission's General Report was as simple as it was radical: from 'conscientization' to participation, from participation to humanization, from humanization to an authentic liberation, the development of a new dimension in all relationships, between teachers and taught, between the individual and the community, between the nation and the rest of the world. The process was to be dialectical - a catalyst and a supportive mechanism for the socio-economic transformations.

'The educational process', as the Chairman of the Commission, Salazar Bondy, told a seminar held in 1973, 'is inseparable

7. Ley General de Educación, Decreto Ley No. 19326. Lima, Ministerio de Educación, 1972.

from promotion of far-reaching change in society and, in consequence, education and politics are indissolubly joined.'[8] For Bondy, as for the Commission, learning to read and write - to take the most rudimentary ingredient of education - is important only as part of a vastly broader process, it can never be an end in itself. Literacy is an essential preliminary, but no more than a preliminary, to social communication and social mobilization; and education itself, at whatever level, must be seen not as a factor in the preservation of the social *status quo* but as an active agent for change towards a humanistic society based on social justice. In sum, the Reform Commission stated the three aims of the new education as follows: 'education for work geared to the integral development of the country; education for structural change and the constant improvement of Peruvian society; and education for the self-affirmation and independence of Peru within the international community.'[9]

Innovative structures and reorientation

The new education system, 'fundamentally humanist in inspiration and genuinely democratic in vocation', was instituted by the General Education Law, Decree Law No. 19326, of 1972. Its humanist aspect is confirmed by Article 6 of the Law. ('The fundamental aim of Peruvian education is the full development of the intrinsic qualities and potentialities of the human individual'); the democratic aspect by Article 4, which stipulates that 'The education offered by the State [must ensure] that no-one shall be denied access to the education system through lack of resources.'[10]

Underlying Peru's new system is the concept of lifelong education. The term has been worn into a cliché in many countries over recent years and provides the theme for endless studies and debates. In Peru, it is actually being applied with an unusual degree of thoroughness. Too often, as one Peruvian educator pointed out, lifelong education has been interpreted as something hardly distinguishable from adult education, as a facility made more or less available to (and, in any case, restricted to) those who have

8. Seminario Multisectorial sobre la Reforma de la Educación y cambios estructurales. Cusco, Ministerio de Educación, 1973.
9. Reforma de la Educación peruana: informe general. Lima, Ministerio de Educación, 1970.
10. *Ley General*, op. cit.

passed the age of formal schooling. The policy of the Peruvian authorities 'ensures the continuity of the personal educational process and the constant advancement of all members of the national community'[11] from infancy onwards, embraces every level and every modality of the formal education system and simultaneously institutionalizes non-formal types of education.

Traditional divisions into pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher levels were clearly incompatible with this approach, and the revolutionary government has chosen to replace them with an initial, a basic and a higher level. The adoption of the initial level already denotes rejection of the idea that the State has no obligation towards children under five years of age. With this innovation, consideration is given to children from babyhood to the age of six - for the first four years through nurseries and for the next two through kindergartens.

Still more important, perhaps, is the fact that for the first time a real effort is being made to provide families with an understanding of the child's needs and development during this critical early period. Mothers visit the school once or twice a week to learn something of nutritional problems, to discuss their particular difficulties, to exchange experiences, to seek advice. In the same way, fathers are encouraged to meet the teachers and talk about family problems and issues relating to child development. Teachers, in turn, visit the families in their locality, especially in cases where, for some reason, the child is unable to attend kindergarten.

In particularly underprivileged rural areas, special programmes are provided to offset the adverse effects of economic, social, cultural and nutritional deprivation during the early stages of the child's development. To take only one example, an intensified intersectoral programme in the district of Puno seeks to involve the whole community in the preparation and management of educational activities. Parents and local volunteers join in formal and non-formal activities designed to inculcate basic notions of hygiene, nutrition, domestic harmony and child development. Depending on their abilities, the volunteer workers in this programme stage plays, prepare meals, teach handicrafts, give first-aid or make equipment for the nurseries and kindergartens. The activities aranged for the children are aimed at stimulating

11. *Ley General*, op. cit.

their socio-affective development no less than their intellectual and creative faculties. In this particular example only the vernacular languages are used.

Basic education, the second of the levels introduced under the educational reform, reinforces the process of lifelong education. It comprises two streams: *educación basica regular* (EBR), a formal programme for day pupils from 6 to 15 years of age, and *educación basica laboral* (EBL), mainly non-formal and intended for adolescents over 15 years old and for adults. The first of these two streams combines in a single unit the six grades of the old primary school and the three grades of the old lower secondary school, and the three cycles into which it is divided (composed of four, two and three grades respectively) provide the general education required in order to cope with adult responsibilities. The third cycle is to have the strongest practical orientation but the reformed curriculum for this cycle (as for the second cycle and, in part, the first) has not yet been developed. At present, therefore, the first cycle incorporates elements of the reformed system with 'adapted programmes' *(programas adaptados)* representing a transition between the old and new patterns; the second cycle consists wholly of adapted programmes; and the third of a combination of adapted programmes and elements of the traditional system.

The EBL stream likewise comprises three cycles (composed of two, three and four grades) and uses both regular school facilities and special facilities to provide a basic literacy course and primary- and secondary-level courses for adults. It is intended for men and women who either dropped out from formal schooling or who, for one reason or another, never attended school at all. Generally speaking, the subject matter of EBL is the same as that of EBR (social sciences, natural sciences, languages, mathematics, art education, religious education and psycho-motor education) but there is necessarily a difference in methodology and, in the former, a greater emphasis on technical and practical skills (automobile engineering; building, wood, metal and textile work; electrical engineering; commerce; agriculture; forestry, etc.). EBL prepares students either for further vocational training or for access to higher education.

Most of the EBL courses are given in the evenings but, in certain rural areas where the population is particularly scattered, evening classes alone cannot meet the needs of the community. In

such cases the EBL teachers or promotors must go from village to village, often covering several miles on foot, or assemble groups in the fields or factories.

Higher education again comprises three cycles of three, four and two years' duration respectively. The first cycle, the *Escuela Superior de Educación Profesional* or ESEP, is open to all those who have completed either stream of basic education. It is, in effect, a pre-university course although it is not primarily designed to prepare for the university but rather, through the polyvalent centres set up by the government, to furnish professional training in such areas as teaching (the old teacher training colleges are being phased out), industry, agriculture, commerce, social and para-medical services, etc. A formal full-time course is available to day students and a non-formal evening course for actively employed adults.

Under the old régime, all higher education was autonomous. In theory, no doubt, the independence of establishments at the higher level may have seemed attractive; in practice, the results were disastrous. The education provided was unrelated either to the needs of the nation or the career opportunities open to graduates. Nor could the autonomous universities cope with a steadily increasing student population: in 1972, for instance, before the revolutionary government's reform got under way, only 30,000 places were available for approximately 80,000 students. Considerations such as these impelled the authorities to create the ESEP and bring it under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, thereby ensuring that the political orientation of the course (and this has given rise to considerable debate among teachers and educationists) together with the subject matter and methodology are brought into line with the overall reform of educational social structures.

Universities - whose courses constitute the second cycle of higher education, culminating in the award of the *licenciatura* and various Master's degrees - still enjoy a large measure of autonomy although their independence has been significantly reduced by the fact that the teaching staff became civil servants after the military government took power. The government has reintroduced one-third participation of students in university assemblies and councils at institutional, regional and national level.

The third cycle of higher education consists of post-graduate studies centred on research work and leading to a Doctor's degree.

This cycle is controlled and offered by a new institution, the *Instituto Nacional de Altos Estudios* (National Institute of Higher Studies) which, in certain circumstances, may authorize different universities to offer the cycle.

Other modes of education provided for by law under the new régime are no less important than the three levels of initial, basic and higher education. One such mode is a type of informal vocational training for adults and adolescents which, unlike ESEP, does not require completion of basic education as a condition for access. Courses covering handicrafts, animal husbandry, agriculture, forestry, domestic economy, rural construction, etc., are organized by the Ministries of Agriculture, of Labour and of Commerce, among others, and are co-ordinated (but not controlled) by the Ministry of Education. Highly flexible in concept, duration and methodology, the courses are geared to the specific needs of particular districts and are offered through *Centros educativos de calificación profesional extraordinaria* or special vocational training centres (CECAPEs), which provide boarding facilities for both instructors and students as well as the necessary tools and workshops.

To provide support for the total Peruvian reform, based on the critical awareness embodied in 'conscientization' and on the commitment to radical socio-economic change through participation, the architects of the educational reform envisaged a programme specifically aimed at involving the masses, immediately and profoundly, in all the innovations initiated within every sector of national life. This programme, Educational Extension Work *(Extensión Educativa)*, utilizes the mass media, discussion groups and exchanges of experience to generate a network of social communication supplemented by the provision of printed or audio-visual material and assistance to the community in developing its own media - popular theatres, local bulletins, newspapers and so on.

Stated in these terms, the educational extension programme may sound somewhat impersonal and remote. The reverse is true. The extension workers maintain a close and direct contact with the families in their district and with community representatives in factories and co-operatives. Far from being detached bureaucrats, their whole function is to inform, to stimulate interest, to encourage the assumption of responsibility, to counsel and, in short, to imbue each and every member of the community with the

feeling that he (or she) is vitally concerned with the transformations taking place, not as a submissive spectator but as an active participant who may even in turn become a sort of extension worker himself.

Somewhat similar to the educational extension programmes are the Special Educational Programmes for Rural Areas (PEAR), except that the mobile teams of promotors operating under the latter system not only furnish the marginal adult and child populations in rural districts with information and motivation but also offer services relating to EBL and literacy training.

Through the *Instituto Nacional de Teleducación* (INTE), educational radio and television, too, have provided valuable support for both the global reform and the educational reform, and it would be regrettable if (as the authorities recently indicated might happen) the Institute's broadcasts were to be discontinued. One programme, beamed to the Sierra, was especially noteworthy by reason of its flexibility and its adaptation to local interests (thereby complementing the work of the extension workers) and the fact that it was not only directed towards children but, periodically, was actually prepared in collaboration with children.

This particular programme was also of interest in that it used the Quechua or Aymara languages, a reflection of the government's insistence on the development of bilingual education and revaluation of Indian cultures. Whereas Spanish was the sole 'official' language under previous governments, the reform now requires that instruction also be provided in Quechua, Aymara or such Indian languages of the Selva as Aguarana. The bilingual policy is important in several ways. To begin with, it eradicates a situation which (to the extent that Spanish was imposed as a form of domination) sustained the fragment of Peruvian society and nourished both resentment and submissiveness among the huge numbers of the population who were not native Spanish speakers. Next, it is educationally sound since learning to read and write in the mother tongue greatly facilitates the subsequent learning of a second language. Finally, it must inevitably contribute to a strengthened appreciation of Indian culture among the Indians themselves and a renewed respect among non-Indian Peruvians.

Two other innovations deserve mention. The first is the National Institute of Research and Educational Development (*Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarollo Educativo* or INIDE), set up in 1971 to assist the implementation of the reform

to assemble relevant documentation, to orient the curricula, to evaluate progress and to undertake responsibility for in-service training through six-week courses conducted each year during school vacations.

The second innovation consists of the provision for specialized counsellors (OBE, *orientación y bienestar del educando*), responsible for the societal and psychological welfare of pupils and students, for assisting them to utilize their abilities to the full and to take the maximum advantage of educational and social services, for advising them in their choice of an occupation and for maintaining a continuing and productive relationship between the school, the community and the family.

Decentralization

Nothing was more inimical to Peruvian education than the rigidly centralized structure which was installed by the *conquistadores* and which for centuries therefore enabled the authorities in Lima to impose a system with little or no relevance to the needs and wishes of most of the population. Under the revolutionary government, the country has been divided into nine educational regions (or, since Huaraz was designated a special emergency region in the aftermath of the 1970 earthquake, ten). Each of these regions corresponds to a specific geo-political area grouping several departments and provinces and each is further sub-divided into a variable number of zones, currently totalling 35 for the country as a whole.

The educational regions are administered by Regional Directorates which might be described as scaled-down versions of the national Ministry of Education and which have roughly the same organizational structure. Their basic tasks are to co-ordinate educational activities in the region with activities in other sectors, to ensure the smooth functioning of the reform by supplying the services of a technical-pedagogical team, to disseminate information on the progress of the reform in the constituent zones, to organize training courses recommended by the Ministry, to adapt norms established at national level to the specific characteristics of the area through the planning, direction and supervision of educational operations, and to attend to problems of staff and material and financial resources.

Cusco, the fifth region, may be taken as an example. Here, the Director and his technical-pedagogical team, along with a

parallel zonal team, are responsible for organizing information courses on the reform and in-service training courses for the benefit of the community.

The Cusco Regional Directorate further organized the first multisectorial meeting covering education, health, agriculture, fisheries, mining, industry and commerce, and designed to establish cross-sectorial co-operation from the regional level through the zonal level down to the nuclear level described later.

Within the regions, the various zones each possess an office which is necessarily in closer contact with the concrete difficulties arising from the reform and more directly involved in its practical implementation. These zonal offices, as far as their structure and duties are concerned, are smaller counterparts of the Regional Directorates just as the latter are counterparts of the national Ministry. Like the Directorates, they organize training courses (in their case, micro-training courses), disseminate information (albeit on a reduced scale) and undertake evaluation procedures (even though they cover a smaller area).

Attached to the zonal offices are the *entrenadores*, selected by competitive examination from among the teaching profession and then given intensive specialized training. Working primarily in the underprivileged rural areas and the shanty towns, their 'clients' are their fellow-teachers for whom, in certain cases, they may constitute the sole source of information on the complexities of the reform. Their task is to explain the philosophy of the reform and its social, political and educational implications. They are there to help with evaluation and follow-up operations at the initial and basic levels, to observe classroom work and to give advice on how to handle the difficulties of the transition from the old system to the new. They are 'the missionaries of the reform'.

Not the least important of the zonal offices' activities is their work in connexion with ALFIN, the integral literacy programme. In the words of Salazar Bondy, 'The literacy teaching which the Reform promotes is integral because it links up various educative elements representing different aspects of literacy training. People have to learn to read and write, and to practise their acquired skills, so as to become used to handling the written language. A further very important purpose is to promote a critical appreciation of the personal, social and historical situation of the learner, and to encourage his participation in the process of change. Efforts are also made to relate to working life and to

development at the local, regional and national levels, and finally to arrive at a basic training suited to the special features of the group in regard to language, traditions, mode of production and other cultural and socio-economic factors... Based on the educational researches of Paulo Freire...Peruvian doctrine centres this process on reflection by the group concerning its own existence, as a community in the broader context of the national life. What a man experiences in life, feels and hopes, the perception he has of reality, and the positive and negative values on which he acts, are reflected in his oral mode of expression.'[12]

With the emphasis on learning in the indigenous languages, on the development of an awareness of the community's socio-historical context and on active participation for change, it is evident that the ALFIN volunteers must be drawn from the communities in which they are to work. It is the zonal offices' responsibility to recruit the appropriate people, to endow them with an understanding of the ideological and political implications of the reform and to instruct them in the specific teaching methods required - e.g. the technique of 'decoding' the local language so as to build up a vocabulary of those words which are most 'real' to the population and which, used in the teaching of reading and writing, make the literacy process itself more 'real'.

In the long run, however, the key to decentralization, and indeed the key to the Peruvian educational reform as a whole, lies in the *nucleos educativos comunales* or NEC, the so-called 'nuclear system' which incorporates all the educational services of the community and which furnishes the machinery by which the community may take its legitimate place in the educational process.

12. *Educación*, (Lima, Ministerio de Educación), No. II, 1975

III. Nuclearization

The first nuclear experiment

Nuclearization was first conceived in the early 1930s, in the course of discussions between educationists from three Andean states, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. All three countries were faced with similar problems posed by the existence of marginal social groups and topographical conditions which made communication exceptionally difficult over considerable areas. Within these areas, the schools - usually staffed by a single teacher - were lamentably under-equipped and, more serious still, were isolated not merely from each other but from the communities which they were intended to serve. How could these schools' resources be extended? What could be done to lessen their paralysing isolation? How could they be enabled to interpenetrate and interrelate with the community? In general, how could schools contribute to raising the low level of living of the rural population to create 'useful citizens' for the country? It was in an effort to find a solution to these questions that the Andean educationists devised the so-called nuclear system.

In its original form, the system was fairly limited in scope. The basic plan consisted of not much more than establishing links between existing schools within a more or less homogeneous district and selecting one particular school to serve both as a model and as a co-ordinating centre for the exchange of experiences and facilities. For the rest, teachers were merely to be encouraged to make contact with the local population by offering such advice and services as they were able.

By the mid-1940s, however, when the nuclear system was actually put into practice, it had grown into something much more ambitious. Obviously, the initial notion of a network (or nucleus) radiating from a central school still remained, but the provisions for stimulating community participation were on a far larger scale. When the first *Nucleos escolares campesinos* were set up in the especially underprivileged Puno district of

the Peruvian Sierra, the central school of the nucleus was equipped to offer, in addition to its existing programme, a literacy programme with a strong practical orientation including such options as health, agriculture and animal husbandry. The workshops, fields and livestock shelters attached to each of the central schools were freely available, without any obligation on those who made use of them to participate in the literacy or adult education programmes, farm implements and tools were lent to whoever might need them in the community, everything was done to induce the people of the district to use the school as a social and cultural meeting-place. For the first time, a real attempt was being made to bring the school into the lives of the Indian population, to eradicate the idea that it was a bleak and remote institution unrelated to, and unconcerned with, everyday interests and needs. The Indians' response, their readiness to furnish land, to construct buildings, to harvest crops, sufficiently demonstrated that the nuclear system was largely successful.

Nevertheless, a number of flaws gradually became apparent and John Baum[13] has listed several of the more critical. To begin with, teachers were too often brought in from the outside and hence had little understanding of the Indians' culture, their customs, their social structures and their specific problems. This drawback, to some extent at least, could have been overcome by a well-adapted preparation of the teachers concerned but, on the whole, although the programme provided a teacher training programme, it was clearly inadequate. In addition, the highly centralized educational administration ordered transfers and exchanges of teaching staff with no thought for the resulting breach of continuity - which the Indians sometimes considered as tantamount to a breach of confidence.

The same centralized bureaucracy was responsible for imposing plans and methods which, however admirable they may have seemed on paper in Lima, were wholly un-attuned to the peculiar conditions of the Sierra. As a result, despite the success of the central schools, the ten or fifteen sectional schools which formed the nucleas were virtually obliged to remain as isolated from the community as they had ever been.

13. Baum, J. *Estudio sobre la educación rural en Perú: los nucleos escolares campesinos*. México, Centro Regional de Aynda Técnica, Agencia para el desarrollo internacional.

Furthermore, the nuclear experiment was itself isolated. Not only was the operation confined to a few districts in the Sierra but educational policy at the national level was not calculated to provide the necessary support, while the position was further complicated by political pressures and prejudices. It is fair to say that the latter, no less than the actual concrete difficulties encountered, were responsible for the decision reached in 1962 to phase out the project.

The second nuclear experiment

Ten years later, the revolutionary government resurrected the nuclear system, designating the nuclear units *Nucleos educativos comunales* (NECs) in place of the former *Nucleos escolares campesinos*. The change of name was not without significance. This time, there was a firm determination of free education from the rigid shell in which it had hitherto been encased, to ensure that it reached out from the schools and took root within the social needs of the community. Furthermore, if the centres were no longer '*escolares*' nor were they '*campesinos*'. Henceforth, nuclearization was to be applied not just in one or two selected rural districts but, progressively, to every region and zone of Peru. Today, almost 500 of the new NECs have been set up (distributed among 35 zones) and it is anticipated that by 1980 some 880 will cover the entire country.

Objectives and structure

The General Education Law defines the concept underlying the new nuclear system as 'the basic community organization for the co-ordination and management of the education services and other services used by education, within a specific geographical area, for the promotion of community life'[14], thus confirming that education should take place in and through the community and that responsibility for its content, orientation, administration and direction should eventually be vested in the family and the community rather than be the exclusive preserve of education authorities. This in turn implies a steady movement towards de-centralization, towards a situation in which those most directly concerned will be able, as of right, to participate in policy making, in the supervision and administration of the whole educational process.

14. Ley, op. cit., article 64.

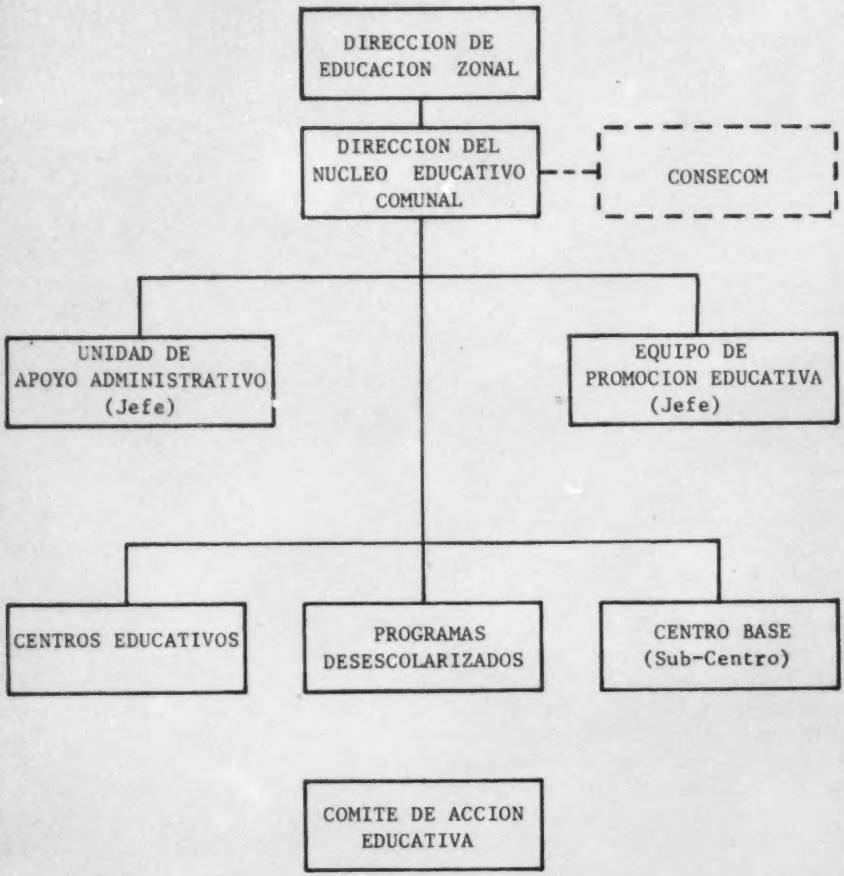
Obviously, there has never been any question of suggesting that the nuclear system could dispense with schools altogether. The school is, and, although in a substantially different form, must remain, a key element in the educational pattern but it is no longer seen as the only element. Above all, it is no longer seen as a sort of ivory tower, as a symbol of detached academic speculation and the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. Structures, methods, curricula, can be, and are being, moulded so as to tie the school directly to the social environment, a new comprehension is growing up between teachers and the rest of the community and progressively an authentic nexus is developing between the school and the whole population. But links or ties, however close, are not enough. Nuclearization is ultimately aimed at completely *merging* the school with the entire social fabric.

Progress towards this definitive integration requires that the NECs, more flexible and more accessible than in the past, provide formal and non-formal educational opportunities to all sectors and all age groups, children and adults alike. It also requires that their laboratories, workshops and libraries, not to mention the advice and assistance of their personnel, be at the disposal of the community.

Integration of the type envisaged as the goal of nuclearization cannot be achieved, however, through a one-way process. Important as it is for the NECs to make their facilities available to the community, it is at least equally important for the community to make its facilities available for the purposes of education, using the term in its broadest possible sense. Each NEC lies within a clearly demarcated territory, determined by considerations of geographical, economic, demographic and social homogeneity and including such potentially valuable components as factories, commercial or industrial organizations, hospitals and clinics, theatres and cinemas and obviously all educational institutions and facilities. Any or all of these can be mobilized and placed at the service of an education system which, by the very fact of that mobilization, is moulded still more completely into the total communal structure. In the same way, and with the same advantage to social cohesion, the NEC promotes intersectorial co-operation by helping to co-ordinate not only educational programmes of various kinds but also programmes and activities in such areas as health, agriculture, labour and commerce.

As far as the specifically educational sector is concerned, the NEC's chief co-ordinating task is to link the constituent

Figure 1. Structure of an NEC



schools of the nucleus - the educational centres as, in the light of their extended function, they are now called - into a network designed to facilitate the exchange of experiences and the rational utilization of installations and equipment.

Organizational structure

At the heart of the nucleus is the *centro base*, replacing the central school of the old nuclear system. It has its own director, who is distinct from and subordinate to the director of the NEC as a whole, and offers the three cycles (or at least two) of basic education. The criteria governing the selection of one particular educational centre to serve as the *centro base* are its geographical situation in relation to the other centres, its level of equipment in terms of libraries, laboratories and workshops, and its capacity to provide a reasonably complete basic course.

But the function of the *centro base* is more complex than this. It encompasses, in addition to the NEC directorate, a local education advisory board (the *Consejo Educativo Comunal* or CONSECOM), an administrative unit and an educational promotion team. The NEC director is appointed (for a non-renewable term of three years) by the zonal director. The choice, however, is made on the basis of a list of candidates proposed by CONSECOM - a notable departure from the old system under which the director was appointed by the Ministry of Education in Lima without regard to local recommendations and preferences. Administratively and technically subordinate to the zonal director, the NEC director is responsible for the planning, organization, supervision and evaluation of the work carried out by the educational centres constituting his nucleus, and for ensuring effective co-ordination and co-operation among them. His primary task, however, is to stimulate and orient communal participation, to help bring about the overall integration which is one of the chief aims of nuclearization.

In this he is powerfully aided by CONSECOM which is one of the key instruments of community participation. It consists of some ten to twenty members - 40 per cent of them drawn from among teachers in the community, 30 per cent from among local families and 30 per cent from among representatives of the community at large, including, for example, trade unionists and workers in agricultural co-operatives. Its functions (in addition to nominating

candidates for the post itself) are to advise the director in the formulation of policy and plans, in the orientation and supervision of educational operations within the district, in the administration of communal property and, generally speaking, to activate progress towards total participation.

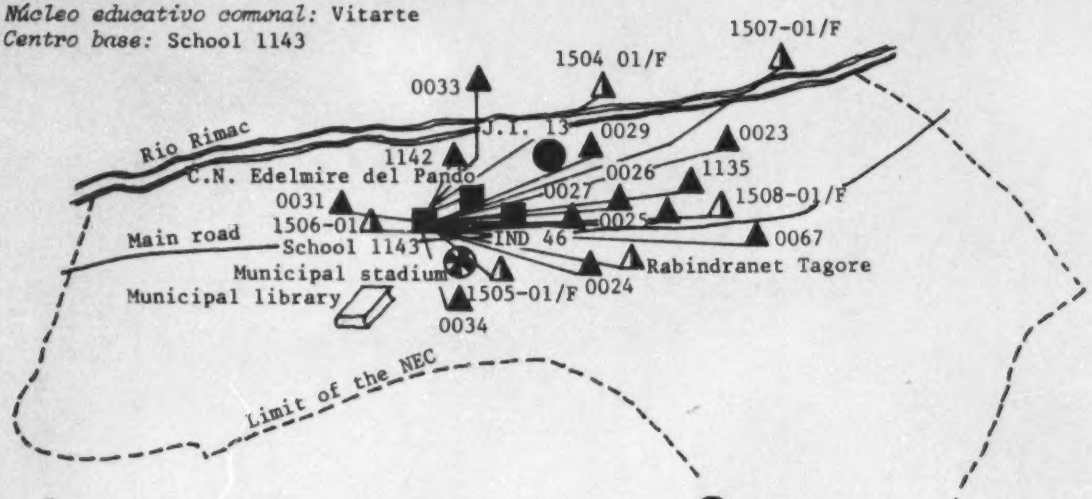
Of primary importance in this latter respect is the right of CONSECOM to set up educational committees (*Comites de Acción Educativa* or CAEs) which, especially in areas such as the Sierra where communication is a particular problem, represent a further step forward towards decentralization and participation at the 'grass-roots' level. Moreover, the CAEs' membership is drawn from among those local inhabitants most alive to, and most nearly affected by, the prevailing conditions, and is not required to include a fixed quota of teachers.

The director also benefits from the advice of the educational promotion team, made up of four teachers specializing in programming, curricula, extension work and student welfare respectively. As well as advising on technical and educational matters, the team plays a part in the formulation, supervision, evaluation and implementation of NEC plans and projects, its involvement in the last three stages leading to close contact with the educational centres dependent on the *centro base*. A fundamental task undertaken by the educational promotion team is the preparation of an 'educational map' and a 'situational diagnosis' which together establish the geographical, demographic, economic and social characteristics of the nucleus and at the same time furnish the quantitative and qualitative data required for an analysis of current conditions, the causes underlying educational difficulties, and alternatives calculated to overcome those difficulties.

Clearly, an analysis of this kind requires the co-operation and indeed the participation of the community. Hence, the team undertakes a 'participatory survey' in which it is joined by various community representatives, the operation serving not only to assemble the necessary data but also to 'conscientize' the population. The method is a relatively recent innovation and, at the outset, many if not most directors and team members were doubtful as to its feasibility, feeling that such surveys could better be conducted by sociologists. In the main, the 'participatory survey' has proved successful and the most sceptical now concede that they have in fact learned a great deal from performing a task which they originally thought was beyond their ability.

Figure 2. **A typical nuclear system**

Region: Metropolitan Lima
Zone: 01
Núcleo educativo comunal: Vitarte
Centro base: School 1143



Total population (1971)	54,157
School population	9,357
Teachers	202
Educational establishments	23
Projection of total population to 1975	66,071
Projected target for school population in 1975	13,400

- State or local kindergarten
- State or local primary school
- Government primary school
- State or local secondary institution

On the basis of the educational plan and the situational diagnoses, the team submits an operational plan to the Zonal Planning Office in which it describes the work of the nucleus during the year, indicating the problems encountered and possible solutions to those problems. These reports from each of the NECs within each of the 35 zones constitute the substance of the Regional Biennial Plans which, in turn, provide a clear picture of the educational reality, positive and negative, throughout the country so that national planning can take full account of actual needs at every level.

Educational map, situational diagnosis and operational plan combine to form a dynamic process which can be summed up in two formulae: 'evaluation plus modification', 'reflection plus action'. Through this process the NEC undergoes a constant, salutary self-examination and, where necessary, a continuing re-orientation, with the masses at last beginning to make a genuine contribution and to take concrete decisions. The notion that education is a hermetic science, inaccessible to any but academics and self 'authorities', is being steadily eroded.

As Palomba Valdeavellano has observed, 'It is vital that this should change. We must get away completely from the idea that a person who has studied at university, or has more money, or is "white" (or is a man) is more "cultured". It is not a question of more culture or less culture but of different cultures and, moreover, what counts in this case is how people really live their lives, their practical experience and their resolve to work for the education and culture of and for the people. What is important is that the people, through their representatives, should state their problems, needs and ideas, and should make their decisions; no-one is better equipped than they to explain their problems and propose possible solutions since this is a daily reality to them, which they know intimately...What we should aim to achieve and promote is a real transfer of power in Education.'[15]

Most of the educational centres which make up the nucleus have their own directors and teaching staff and an advisory body which serves much the same purpose as CONSECOM at the *centro base*. Leaving aside *escuelas unidocentes*, the single-teacher schools still found in remote rural areas such as the Selva, the nucleus

15. Lograr la Participación: Reto del extensionista, Documento 2. Lima, Ministerio de Educación, 1974.

as a whole offers initial education, basic education (both EBR and EBL), vocational training (CECAPE), extension work and, to a limited extent, special programmes for the handicapped, with promotion of rural areas and bilingual instruction where necessary.

All these programmes, in conjunction with the non-formal activities previously described, make the NEC an instrument, indeed the basic instrument, whereby the reformists have finally been able to sever education from a centralist, élitist and paternalistic system. The solutions to day-to-day educational problems are not to be found in the ministerial offices of Lima but in the field, through the interaction of community and nucleus, through continuing analyses of those problems carried out on the spot by those directly concerned with both a critical and a creative approach and in a spirit of real co-operation. 'We want to be able and we must always be able', as Salazar Bondy wrote, 'to create our own way of viewing our own reality and resolving its problems.'[16]

In its General Report, the Commission for Educational Reform listed seven specific respects in which the nuclear system could be expected to prove superior to the traditional school system, looking towards a future which is already becoming a present reality. The haphazard use of inadequate facilities which prevailed under the old system is, as the Commission foresaw, making way for the rational, collective utilization of all the improved equipment available in the community; education limited to formal schooling for children and young people has been supplanted by a pattern of both formal and non-formal education available to the whole population without regard to age; in place of scattered and isolated schools with, all too often, an unacceptably low educational standard, the NECs constitute networks of closely interconnected centres of a continually rising standard; the poorly trained teachers of the past, with little if any mobility and the most limited career prospects, are being replaced by well-trained men and women whose social function is valued at its real worth by themselves and by the community, whose careers offer a variety of possibilities and who benefit from all the advantages of communication with other teachers; instead of schools whose action was held within the confines of a rigid education system,

16. Seminario multisectorial sobre la reforma y cambios estructurales. Cusco, 1973.

the NECs are made up of centres directly involved in the total integration process and linked to every sector of national life; communal indifference, fostered by an oppressive centralism, is being eliminated through the support which the centre now extends to every form of participation and to the assumption of responsibility by the community as a necessary step on the way to self-management; an obsolete, ill-adapted and financially burdensome system is being replaced by one with an immediate relevance to the needs of the whole population, which has a vast potential for expansion which, moreover, is significantly less costly.

Teaching staff

It is scarcely necessary to point out that, in the transition from the old system to the new, much of the burden falls on the teacher and that, to a large extent, it is on him, at least in the initial phases, that success or failure ultimately depends. He is no longer a classroom instructor but a teacher-educator with a role to play in the community no less vital that his role in the school. His task, according to the General Education Law, is not 'simply to teach his courses even if this is done exceptionally well. The teacher's work must be all-embracing and exercised in various areas: in the search for knowledge, the acquisition of skills and, moreover, in the guidance of students and in his co-operation in the complementary activities entailed in the administrative aspects. The image of the teacher as such is replaced by that of the teacher-educator who fully shares in the work of the educational teacher. In the light of this concept, the teacher must assume more responsibilities than those traditionally assigned to him and recognized as his. This implies that he should reassume his fundamental mission as the educator and educational guide of the community.'[17]

What are the new responsibilities incumbent on the teacher? To begin with, while still a transmitter of facts, he must be something more than just a transmitter. *Ex cathedra* teaching is no longer viable; the teacher must step down from the rostrum, work wherever possible in small groups, encourage students to cite their own experiences, initiate dialogue, create an atmospere of mutual confidence and free expression. The skills he now teaches are not simply those traditionally associated with schools; they

17. Ley General, p. 24

include showing the learner how to learn by himself so that the teacher becomes, so to speak, a catalyst in the learning process, continually nourishing self-development, socio-affective no less than intellectual and practical.

The task is far from easy. Some teachers find it hard to abandon the old approach, to drop the textbooks in favour of discussion, to indicate where the student will find the information he needs instead of purveying abstract data, to join with students in solving problems rather than handing down edicts. But increasingly the actual content of the curricula is compelling the teacher to adopt the new approach. In language classes, for example, he is required to substitute open discussion with his pupils concerning their own experiences for the tedious and forbidding dictation of the past; in mathematics classes, he is expected to let the children work in small groups, a method which has proved to give better results; students of the social sciences now carry out independent investigations into the actual needs of the community. However disquieting this transformation may be initially to partisans of the old system, the teacher discovers as time goes by that his students are now responding far better, are developing faster and that, from a purely personal point of view, his own work is more rewarding and, incidentally, less exhausting.

The relationship between teachers themselves is likewise changing. With a curriculum which now calls for the utmost adaptability and flexibility, teachers are impelled to join forces in preparing their classes and programmes - in other words, they are of necessity engaged in a profitable (and agreeable) form of communication which previously they might have tended to let go by default.

During the micro-courses organized at the nuclear or zonal level, teachers are again brought into contact as they exchange experiences and discuss the educational and political implications of the reform. They meet fairly frequently, too, with the educational promotion teams, with individual specialists or with the *entrenador* (trainer), an official of the Ministry of Education but reporting to the zonal administration, who tours the NECs and the educational centres for purposes of evaluation and follow-up work.

Useful as the teacher's discussions with the *entrenador* may be in palliating any sense of isolation, they rarely furnish much practical help. The latter has too many centres to visit to be able to advise usefully a teacher confronted with a specific

problem, and more often than not, a communication gap between the two impedes real co-operation.

Finally, just as his relationship with his class and his colleagues has been transformed, so has the teacher's relationship with the community. In the past, his contact with the outside world (in his capacity as a teacher) was virtually limited to an occasional chat with parents about their children's progress. Once again, the reform obliges the teacher to draw closer to the community, not only because he has to collaborate in the preparation of the educational map, the situational diagnosis and the operational plan, but because the very nature of the curriculum demands a real knowledge of the population and its problems and interests. He may take part in study groups or inter-sectorial debates in the community, he may organize literacy or 'conscientization' courses, he may operate a workshop or produce a folk play, with community participation he may have to arrange talks on a specific communal project. It is inevitable that he becomes an active social agent, working in and through the community.

IV. Three educational centres

Villa el Salvador

In 1974, a group of students in the *Fe y Alegria*[18] educational centre of Villa el Salvador drew up a description of their environment to serve as a basis for discussion during a young people's meeting.

'Villa el Salvador', they wrote, 'came into being as a result of an influx of population into a place called Pamplona, and also as a result of a housing crisis, as many different parts of Lima were at that time being overrun by migrants.

'This was because people driven from various *departementos* in the mountain and forest areas by unemployment were moving into the capital.

'The settlement grew up in the following way. The poorest migrants started arriving in the middle of June 1971; traders were already selling straw matting and wood and even mineral-water bottle tops at 20 cents, used by the inhabitants to nail up their matting and thus construct their dwellings.

'The poorest people arrived as plots were allocated to them, experiencing cold, shortage of food and thirst, as this was waste-land with no roads where a water-cart could get by; there was no transport up to the third zone, which meant walking between three and five kilometres from the last bus-stop on the route...

'Now (1974) Villa el Salvador is a town of 150,000 inhabitants, all working in Lima apart from shop-keepers and market traders, who are a tiny minority. It is the biggest township in the Lima region to have no place of employment for the people. It is a town with few markets, little transport, unsurfaced streets, schools with

18. *Fe y Alegria* (Faith and Happiness) is a movement founded by the Jesuit Order which enjoys powerful support from the Catholic Church and the Peruvian Ministry of Education. The movement works primarily through schools situated in the shanty-towns of a number of Latin American countries. These schools offer services to children and adults alike, including vocational courses and instruction on the planning and implementation of community development projects.

Figure 3. Regions of Peru

walls of matting except for the few that have had buildings constructed - altogether insufficient for the students living in Villa who have to catch the workmen's buses as early as five in the morning in order to get to Lima. Most of the dwellings are made of matting and wood. There are no hospitals or clinics for emergency cases...

'It is a township where...people have grown resigned to things and are pessimistic as regards social change; they have no idea of the main reason for unemployment, that there are rich and poor. They do not make any effort to improve things, as a survey we carried out has shown. Their only idea is to go into service, perhaps to be a nurse serving a doctor, or something of that kind; no-one aspires to be anything better because the education they have received does not enable them to assess the real national and local situation in which they are living and possible solutions to it...

'...NEC No. 15 was set up with the aim of catering for the students' interests and finding answers to their problems and needs...It was asked that a committee of delegates from each school be set up and this was done. We students have seen that so far delegates have not been called upon to take on specific tasks and work among the community...

'We consider that NEC No. 15 should encourage journalism or the theatre, these non-formal educational activities being carried out jointly by parents, pupils and teachers. They should express the real truth concerning the situation of Villa el Salvador and its causes and why students' eyes need to be opened, why the vertical separation into teachers and pupils should be done away with and repression eliminated, so that there will be no moulding of young people to suit the interests of a privileged class that uses most people as objects instead of treating them as individuals...'[19]

The picture is a depressing one and, as far as its physical appearance is concerned, Villa el Salvador has little to commend it. It houses are tin-roofed shacks, with bare sand floors and walls of straw-matting lined with old newspapers. They are devoid of windows; candles and kerosene lamps provide the only illumination; water must be bought from an itinerant vendor. Yet there is an animation which is not often found in more privileged centres, a sound of laughter in the streets, passionate discussions, children

19. Report prepared by the students of NEC No. 15 [duplicated]

at play, music. And despite all the hardships and handicaps, one is told, Villa el Salvador should not be regarded as a shanty-town but as a *pueblo joven*, a new town, because the inhabitants are motivated and active in the development of the community.

The student authors of the description quoted above would obviously disagree. Yet the nuclear system is precisely designed to ensure that they themselves become the agents of whatever further community participation is required. Their own report makes it clear that they are conscious of the task which awaits them and eager to undertake it. Perhaps, too, when formulating their criticisms of the educational centre, they might have derived some encouragement from the mere fact that they had developed the impulse to prepare their report in the first place. That they should have been able to do so, moreover, not merely without hindrance but with the active support of the centre constitutes an eminently satisfactory departure from the attitudes prevailing in the past.

Externally, the *Fe y Alegria* centre is unimpressive: a two-storey brick building constructed by teachers and parents, with four rooms - and four light-bulbs. Its orientation and operation, on the other hand, are very far from unimpressive. It was originally set up as an experimental project by the Ministry of Education in 1971 before the introduction of the nuclear system but even then it carried out a number of activities later to be identified with nuclearization. Now that an NEC has been established, it still in many ways provides a model to the rest of the nucleus and will continue to do so until such time as the *centro base* acquires the necessary experience. All studies, its Director emphasizes, are designed to serve the community. The centre does not simply teach, it is also a factor in the transformation of society, involving young people, parents and teachers.

Its curriculum is the same as that of the other centres - mathematics, languages, social sciences, natural sciences, art education, religious instruction and sport - but all subjects are rooted in the lives and experiences of the children. Mathematics, once the rudiments have been imparted, concentrates on problems of real concern to the students; history and geography (treated as elements of the social sciences) are taught only as they relate to the students and the social context. The accent is placed not so much on impersonal facts (the teacher can always indicate the works of reference in which these may be found) as on the 'why' and the 'how'. The migratory movement, the development of the

town, its relationship with the capital, the overall national situation are the essential themes.

A typical work-sheet for the social sciences (drawn up by the teachers in collaboration) might propose that the students should draft an inventory of the town's characteristics in terms of housing, income, diet and health; indicate those problems which they consider most urgent with reasons for the choice; list other problems remaining to be solved; determine what is already being done towards a solution and appraise the effectiveness of such efforts.

Work must be undertaken individually, at the student's own speed and level, or in small groups. It may involve essays, surveys within the community, visits to other communities for the purpose of comparison, discussions with workers, tours of agro-industrial co-operatives.

These methods, the teachers explain, are designed to develop critical attitudes and a heightened socialization, with students learning themselves, exchanging information among themselves, evaluating themselves, as a first step on the way to self-education. Increasingly, the centre is becoming a laboratory, 'a centre where we all learn and we all teach, a centre where the teacher is one of us, where equipment, books, cards, files, and all the materials are for the use of all. In the laboratory we are thus responsible, each and every one of us, for what happens in it. The laboratory is something more than the "class-room" with its four walls; there are activities that cannot be carried out in a classroom or which are more effectively carried out in a *salon*.'[20]

Visitors are prone to find the new Peruvian classes noisy, confused and disorderly and to wonder how students can possibly concentrate. In their bi-monthly meetings with the teachers, parents have likewise protested at what they considered excessive liberty, a lack of discipline, at the students' freedom to attend school or not as they choose, at the toleration of copying which, in the past, would have been regarded as plain cheating, at the participation of students in the parent-teacher meetings themselves.

To these and similar complaints, the teachers' answer is that the absence of a roll-call encourages, that instead of meting out punishments for copying it is better to show the students concerned that co-operation is not much more difficult and a great deal more interesting. Discipline can no more be imposed than can a sense of

20. Teachers' bulletin on activities in *Fe y Alegria* [duplicated].

responsibility and social commitment. Such qualities are the product of joint efforts by teachers, parents and students, and their acquisition through the stimulation of interest must take precedence over 'right' answers, as often as not learnt by rote. The very presence of students at the teacher-parent meetings is calculated to eradicate any feeling that students are cut off from the adult world, are condemned to live in a student ghetto.

In addition to the regular curriculum, the *Fe y Alegria* (and here again its activities are comparable to those of a *centro base*), offers a series of work-oriented courses for both students and the community at large - in this particular case, courses in accountancy, carpentry, typing, dressmaking, and domestic economy. Women have access not only to the EBL courses but also to a course especially designed for them, one in which literacy work is combined with 'conscientization' so that participants learn to read and write and, simultaneously, develop an understanding of their social role in the community, the changes in their condition and relationships which would be of benefit and ways in which such changes might be brought about.

The women of the community also help on occasion to produce the students' bulletin, *Crítica*, of which some six numbers are published annually, each of them devoted to a subject with specific relevance to the town but at the same time having a broader application. Exploitation of women, the rising cost of living, urbanization, migratory problems, the role of youth, the responsibilities of communal leaders, the operation of the educational reform are typical of the themes examined.

Something more is involved than simply giving youth a chance to speak its mind. The bulletin, like the students' theatre group which performs plays written in collaboration by the students themselves, like the film club and its follow-up debates, is a genuine service to the community, bringing students, teachers and the rest of the population together in a unified society of a new kind, from which artificial distinctions are steadily vanishing.

The spirit which is emerging and extending in this particular section of Villa el Salvador is such that the change of name from 'shanty-town' to 'new town' can be seen not as a semantic twist, a political euphamism, but as the expression of a vigorous reality.

Iscuchaca

Iscuchaca is situated in the Pampa de Anta, the great plain, some 373 square kilometres in area, to the north-east of Cusco in the

Sierra. A few make-shift roads criss-cross the plain but the peasants mostly travel on foot or on horseback and, in the rainy season, the whole district is inundated and travel of any kind becomes virtually impossible. The harsh climate, with the torrential rains succeeded by sharp frosts and destructive winds, makes even the meagre subsistence-agriculture (potatoes and corn) difficult to maintain. Sheep and cattle are also raised but it is the women who provide the bulk of the community's cash income by selling food and curios to the tourists who, twice a day, visit the ancient Inca ruins of Machu Picchu.

Eighty per cent of the population consists of Indians, even though there has been a vast migratory movement over recent years. An ever-increasing number of Indians is moving to the coastal region in the hope of finding more profitable employment and better conditions, despite the fact that almost all the arable land has been taken from the great hacienda-owners and, through the creation of co-operatives, transferred to the Indians.

From the point of view of Peruvian education, the region has an historical interest since it was here that the original *nucleos escolares campesinos* were set up in the 1940s. Today, a revived nuclear system is extending its influence throughout the area but enough has already been said of the new centres to make any detailed description of the Anta network superfluous. The underlying concept, the structure and the operational patterns do not differ in any essential respect from the other component elements of the system.

The Iscuchaca nucleus, however, in the heart of the Anta region, offers an excellent illustration of the way in which non-formal activities are conducted in a remote rural area. A brief survey of this aspect of nuclearization in action should therefore provide a useful supplement to the foregoing account of schooling in an urban setting.

One operation undertaken by the Iscuchaca nucleus which may be mentioned at the outset as an example of the network's range and potential is the recently-established food programme - designed to meet a situation in which 75 per cent of the area's children suffered from malnutirtion, 50 per cent of them to a degree which would normally call for hospitalization. The task involved is a formidable one, and some idea of the material obstacles which must be overcome can be gained from a glance at the questionnaire distributed to each of the 31 educational centres which make up the nucleas. This asks, for instance, whether there is any provision

for protecting food from rats and insects; whether there is any kind of sewage system; whether kitchen utensils are available; whether cooking by kerosene is possible with the equipment to hand; whether there are supplies of sugar and milk on the spot. To almost all these questions, the answer is 'No'. The one reply which is generally in the affirmative concerns the willingness of the local inhabitants to contribute to the scheme by preparing and serving food or by building dining-halls and furniture.

As for the transport facilities, the inclusion of this question can hardly be considered as anything but a formality. The daunting problem of actually getting the food to the outlying centres without proper roads or adequate vehicles is one which the nucleus itself must solve through an intersectorial operation requiring the co-operation of CONSECOM and a variety of local authorities.

To the outside observer, the benefits of the food programme are immediately apparent and the need for it obvious - so much so that there is a danger of over-looking or underestimating other activities within the area. Of these, perhaps none is more important than the rural promotion programme conducted by the nine *promotores* attached to the nucleus. To begin with, the 'conscientization' discussions conducted by the *promotores* represent something more than just elements in a purely educational process, essential as such a process may be. They are so many bulwarks against exploitation, dominance and passivity. It would scarcely be going too far to say that, be engendering a sense of responsibility and an awareness of rights, they are becoming a factor in the Indians' struggle to survive as a people.

In an average week, a *promotor* will visit upwards of 125 individuals, meeting them in the fields, in the workshops or in their thatched, stone or adobe huts. It is a job which calls for infinite patience, a genuine spirit of dedication - and considerable physical stamina. Travel is arduous and sometimes dangerous, climatic conditions are often close to intolerable. Facilities for teaching are usually non-existent. Electric light, of course, is unknown; there may be no form of illumination at all. Reading and writing must be practised out of doors by daylight, and in the daytime there are other things to be done - crops to be sown or harvested, animals to be looked after, meals to be cooked, clothes to be mended.

At the beginning, the attitude of the Indians may be refractory or indifferent. During one training course for *promotores*,

the instructor (from outside the region) spoke ardently of the need for a vast propaganda or advertising campaign to 'sell' the idea of literacy to the Indians - and thereby betrayed his ignorance both of the Indian mentality and of the true nature of 'conscientization'. The Indians cannot be badgered or cajoled or brainwashed into wanting literacy. 'Education for all as a universal panacea', one *promotor* remarked, 'is a false theory. We try to place reading and writing in their proper perspective. We don't want to raise people's hopes dishonestly. Literacy can only be of use to them if they see it as one aspect or tool in a whole pattern of development and liberation - otherwise, it would be better to leave them illiterate. The Indians must acquire true appreciation of their own reality, the ways in which they are exploited, the causes of their dependency and the relationship between urban and rural areas so that they can set about changing their condition.'

Even the notion of time may complicate the *promotores'* task. 'The Quechua concept of time', one of them pointed out, 'has nothing in common with the Western concept. The organization of time means nothing to the Indians. Past, present and future tenses in the Quechua language have quite another significance than the same tenses in Spanish.'

In overcoming these various difficulties and in stimulating an authentic motivation among the people, the primary requirement is that the *promotor* should either be drawn from the community or have lived there long enough to gain a deep understanding of the Indians. At one point, the work was undertaken by intellectual students from the cities - and the failure was instantaneous. They could not communicate with the local population in either their language or their terms. 'The problem', says one of their successors, 'is a problem of communication at the level of the Indians themselves but this does not mean talking down to them. It means not only understanding their difficulties but identifying with those difficulties. It means avoiding demagogy and idealogical propaganda.'

The *promotor* begins by establishing a sort of situational diagnosis of the community in much the same way as the situational diagnosis is prepared for the nucleus itself, that is through the active participation of the community. This diagnosis covers the relevant geographic and demographic particularities, socio-economic characteristics (technological development, co-operatives, etc.) and the cultural and political context, with special emphasis on

ways of co-ordinating activities in all sectors. Simultaneously, a file is compiled for each individual in the *promotor's* group, indicating age, sex, occupation, language or languages spoken, interests, motivation, educational level (if any) and so on.

With this information at his disposal (and sometimes with the help of members of the community who have been to school or are still at school) the *promotor* proceeds to initiate dialogues (comprising elements of EBL, CECAPE and literacy as appropriate) which cover such subjects as nutritional and medical problems, co-operatives and agriculture.

If he has gained the confidence of the Indians (and if he himself has gained a perception of the overall social complex) the *promotor* will take up other and more 'personal' issues with them. The long and exhausting labour to which they were condemned, the rigours of the climate, the desperate effort required merely to keep alive, have all encouraged recourse to the use of coca and alcohol. Indulgence in these has had inevitable, and sometimes disastrous, consequences for health and family relationships. Whatever relief or forgetfulness may have been obtained has had to be paid for in terms of lowered resistance, diminished energy, reduced productivity. The *promotor* is faced with the infinitely delicate task of discussing all this without arousing resistance and, at the same time, of communicating the idea that education, as a part of a global transformation process, can help to obviate the need for such palliatives.

A tendency towards exploitation and dominance within the community is yet another complication which the *promotor* must face and, through discussions leading to appropriate action, try to eliminate. The Indians have a tradition of mutual assistance (indeed, given the harsh conditions with which they have had to cope over the centuries, they could not have survived without it) but this was largely eroded by their subservience as employees on the haciendas. They are no longer exploited by landed proprietors but the notion of dominance still persists. Today, relationships among workers within the co-operatives may reflect this alien influence and here again the *promotor*, by means of a dialogue based on mutual esteem, can do something to restore the old instinctive acceptance of solidarity.

Folk theatre groups are another way in which community feeling can be revived and stimulated and this activity, too, depends on the skill and enthusiasm of the *promotores*. As one of them explained, 'Art is able to touch certain chords in the human being which are

not responsive to rational discourse or political slogans; art reaches the profound depths of man without for all that being something remote from his work and his practical, immediate problems. Linked to the expressive value of art are its educational possibilities. If popular art is accompanied by action of an organizational and political kind it will be an invaluable educational instrument.'

It is a fact that dramatic expression is becoming not merely an instrument of education but an instrument for social, economic and political advancement. Theatre and other group activities of the kind enable the Indians to give utterance to their frustration and desperation, confronted as they have been for so long by poverty and hardship. Gradually this leads them to realize that they have been victims of an unendurable exploitation. As the last stage in the 'conscientization' process, they come to see that discussion of their individual and communal problems and the possession of a certain level of literacy are just the steps towards escaping from a destiny which they are no longer ready to accept.

The drama which the *promotor* helps to produce takes place not only on the primitive stage of one remote village but to an increasing extent throughout hitherto neglected areas. And it is more than an unsophisticated pantomime, it is the whole drama of a nation's development.

Imacita

As mentioned earlier, the Selva region covers some 60 per cent of Peru's territory and is occupied by less than 10 per cent of the total population. Twelve of its 75 million hectares are under cultivation, the remainder of this vast area is unexploited and inhabited only by scattered Indian communities, mestizo traders, military personnel and a certain number of agricultural settlers.

In the past, and especially during the nineteenth century, efforts were made by successive governments to promote colonization of the region, and foreigners as well as Peruvians were encouraged to settle there in order to consolidate the area. Today it is seen as having enormous potential and it is true that the forests represent a huge capital in timber and that the natural resources include substantial petroleum deposits. On the other hand, the widespread belief that proper fertilizers are all that is needed to turn the Selva into the main food-supplying region of Peru is excessively optimistic. True, the plant life is abundant - but so are

the pests which have already seriously hampered attempts to grow cocoa and other crops. The soil, moreover, tends to be poor, and exploitation for a number of years in succession is out of the question.

Nevertheless, the new régime is aiming at a major development of the Selva (more especially in the Ceja de Selva bordering the tropical lowlands) by building roads and, like previous governments, exhorting fresh settlers to move in. At the same time, official policy is committed to the preservation and promotion of the indigenous cultures and the dilemma of how to reconcile development, participation and integration into the mainstream of national life with maintenance of Indian cultures and identities is a serious one. As the Minister for Energy and Mines recently commented, 'Whether or not the continued presence of groups of people in a habitat which has been entirely theirs for thousands of years takes precedence over the establishment of production zones which will benefit the Peruvian people as a whole,...the interests of the whole of the Peruvian population must be harmonized with those of the specific native communities where oil is found...The Revolutionary State will take all human, political and economic factors very carefully into account, the interests of man will be central to its decisions, as is consonant with the humanist nature of our Revolution.'[21]

For centuries, the tribes have practised in the humid tropical forests a system of cyclical cultivation which has helped to preserve the natural ecology and allowed the Indians themselves to live in perfect harmony with what is essentially a very difficult and delicate environment. 'In affirming', as the ethnologist, Stefano Varese, has written, 'that the shifting cultivation practised by the tribal groups imitates the pattern of the primeval forest, we are implying that native ecological knowledge includes complete mastery of the forest cycles...There has to be a relatively low population density and concentration in order to allow crop rotation and corresponding fallow periods which, in the tropical forest, vary from the minimum of 20 to a maximum of 150 years.'[22] Thus, the tribes have always been accustomed to move about fairly frequently in search of new land for the cultivation of the banana and casava crops and to find fresh supplies of the leaves used to thatch their huts.

21. *Participation* (Lima), No. 5, April 1974.
22. Ibid.

Traditionally, tribal villages have been built by the rivers but, in order to escape from the presence of the settlers who in the 40s and 50s were urged to move into an 'empty space' which was in fact already occupied by some 23,000 members of the Aguaruna and Huambiza tribes, the Indians are tending to shift to more remote districts in the hills.

Even so, between 10,000 and 15,000 Aguaruna-speaking Indians still live in the Alta Maranon region which was once their sole preserve, a region bounded to the north by Ecuador, to the south by the Rio Mayo, to the east by the Rio Santiago and to the west by the Rio Chenchipe. Much of the wildlife has been destroyed since the influx of settlers began, with a corresponding decline in the possibilities for fishing and hunting. The Aguarunas must content themselves with a subsistence type of agriculture.

There are two *nucleos educativos comunales* in this part of the Selva. Both come under the Zonal Office of Jaén which is a day's ride away in the Ceja de Selva but which nonetheless manages to remain in close contact with the NECs and provide them with such services as a technical educational team, *entrenador* follow-up action and a variety of micro-courses. The Zonal Office has carried out, and still carries out, valuable work designed to apply the educational reform for the benefit of the Aguarunas, one instance, taken at random, being its distribution of an Aguaruna translation of the Law on Native Communities. 'The right to welfare and integral development', the Zonal Office emphasizes,'does not mean eliminating [the Indians'] own language or destroying their own cultural values.'[23]

Imacita, where the *centro base* of NEC No. 9 is located, lies on the banks of the Rio Maranon. It is also the site of a camp housing troops engaged in road-building, and an uninformed visitor would find it hard to believe that this village, composed of prefabricated houses equipped with running water, electricity and sewage facilities and largely occupied by military personnel and settlers, was in fact in the heart of Aguaruna territory.

Situated as it is, NEC No. 9 is necessarily called on to attach particular importance to the principle of bilingualism and to examine the advantages accruing from this principle (along with the difficulties involved in its application) with particular care. Not all of its 45 educational centres are as yet in a position to utilize both Spanish and Aguaruna but in the half-dozen centres

23. Zonal Office Bulletin [duplicated]

selected as 'laboratories' instruction is given from the very beginning in the two languages. Whatever the subject, children learn to identify simultaneously with the Spanish and Aguaruna terminology, with the national language which belongs to them as Peruvians and with the regional language which belongs to them as a people having their own culture, customs and society. Through this experimental programme, NEC No. 9 is engaged in developing one of the basic tools for eradicating discrimination, domination and dependence.

Of fundamental importance in this operation is the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Instituto Linguistico de Verano), a North American Protestant organization with offices in the Ministry of Education, which has trained many of the NEC No. 9 teachers (and many teachers working elsewhere) in bilingual techniques. This body has been largely responsible for developing bilingual teacher training, designed to prepare teachers to return to their villages and work for the improvement of sanitation, medical care, etc. Considering that its members also conduct bilingual literacy and communal development courses in outlying districts, the Institute's influence in an area such as that of the Alta Maranon is obviously considerable.

Side by side with this Protestant institute, the Society of Jesus also exercises a marked influence within the Alta Maranon. The Jesuit school attached to NEC No. 9, for instance, is a basic-level technical establishment which offers training in agriculture. Like the Society's other schools in the Selva, however, its underlying philosophy is much more ambitious - to prepare the Aguarunas for the inevitable cultural shock of integration with the settlers. The Aguaruna boys must be taught to adapt, linguistically, culturally, psychologically but, at the same time, must be encouraged to identify with their own cultural background. Hence, the Jesuits exclude the children of settlers or mestizos from their centre. There are plenty of others schools for these groups whose presence in the Jesuit centre would merely prevent the Aguarunas from relating to their own cultural personality and so compound the problems of acculturation and marginalization. 'We believe that the man who loses his self-respect and to whom the ideal of complete linguistic and cultural assimilation is held out - an ideal which is unattainable within the space of a single generation - runs the risk of experiencing irremediable frustration. He will despise his fellow countrymen and will not succeed in being totally accepted by the group to which he claims to belong.'[24]

24. Prospectus of the Colegio Agropecuario "Valentin Salegui".

In line with the emphasis placed on cultural identity, the Jesuits have encouraged their students to translate a number of Aguaruna fables and tales into Spanish as part of their curricular activities but the main accent is on mathematics, technical training and the natural sciences. Much importance is attached by the centre to community relations, and students simultaneously gain practical experience and serve the local population by travelling around the country to help with inoculations, to teach about parasite control, or to assist in the spraying of cocoa plantations.

The presence of the Protestant and Catholic influences are significant since both have greatly benefited the nucleus, but it must be recognized that they also represent a definite problem, one which likewise arises at the level of the nucleus as a whole. Protestants and Catholics propound two different ideologies, employ different methodologies, and have their own ideas on how best to contribute to the development and welfare of the Aguarunas. It follows that the latter, while deriving unquestionable advantages from both, are, as it were, trapped in the middle and it is with this predicament - extending beyond the interdenominational sphere - which the nucleus, here and elsewhere, must deal: how to co-operate with conflicting approaches, how to make use of what is most valuable in each, how to harmonize them, how to utilize the various experiences on behalf of the reform and the promotion of the indigenous cultures.

Without elaborating on the many services provided by the nucleus - substantially the same as those already described although obviously adapted to local requirements - we may mention one final aspect of the work done by NEC No. 9, namely the specifically oriented vocational training programme. Limited at present as to the number of students it can accept, it is nonetheless of a type which might well become a model for a far more extensive operation throughout the area. Applying the official policy of developing the district without thereby destroying native cultures and social structures, the NEC's vocational centre concentrates on precisely those skills which are likeliest to enable the Indian communities to benefit from development while remaining intact as entities in their own right. In short, the Indians learn to attend to their own health problems, to meet their own agricultural needs, and to practise those crafts which are necessary in their own environment so that they will no longer be compelled to look for employment outside.

V. Problems and solutions

Any operation conducted on a national scale must inevitably come up against a variety of obstacles and give rise to a variety of problems. These are likely to be all the more numerous and difficult to overcome where the operation is of a genuinely radical nature, and to gloss over them in the case of the Peruvian educational reform would be to diminish the revolutionary vision which inspires it.

Given that participation and hence a rationalized form of co-operation are fundamental to the reform, the first question which the outside observer can be expected to raise concerns the workings of the inter-sectorial co-ordination machinery set up by the new régime. That this machinery can function efficiently and advantageously was abundantly demonstrated after the 1974 Lima earthquake when churches, factories, cinemas and theatres placed their facilities at the disposal of students from the ruined educational centres; but such facilities can be equally valuable in normal circumstances when, however, they are all too often neglected.

Failure to enlist the whole-hearted collaboration of the non-educational sectors has serious and even potentially catastrophic implications[25] for the Peruvian experiment since, as Joost Kuitenbrouwer has pointed out, financial constraints might well jeopardize the essential aims which the government has set itself. The funds required to expand a formal institutionalized education system so as to meet those aims could easily prove beyond the resources of the nation, and it therefore becomes vital to think in terms of harnessing all the non-formal means available in the community - those same means that proved their worth after the Lima disaster.

25. Kuitenbrouwer, J. *The function of social mobilization in the process towards a new society in Peru.* The Hague, Institute of Social Studies, 1973.

At the nuclear level, the situation is not always noticeably better in this regard. Among the community at large there is almost always a real enthusiasm and eagerness to contribute to the reform but there is a tendency to think that this is sufficiently expressed by means of parades to demonstrate popular support or through different kinds of fund-raising activities. CONSECOM was designed precisely for the purpose of providing a channel for community participation in dealing with the real issues and with directing the movement towards ultimate nuclear self-management. In many cases, however, it is not in fact representative of the community, its members being as a rule drawn from an 'élite' of local leaders, while, in the remote rural areas, attendance at its meetings may in any case be rendered impossible by the hazards of transport and communication.

Inadequate community participation is similarly reflected in the failure of non-educational branches within the nucleus to influence the educational programmes. Although sugar co-operatives in the North have formed action committees to introduce new elements into the curricula and to participate in decisions affecting the nucleus, this is a relatively isolated phenomenon. Other co-operatives, local enterprises and trade unions all have a role to play in this connexion.

Closer integration of this kind would perhaps be easier if the NECs themselves enjoyed a greater measure of autonomy and a greater freedom for decision making. Their programmes are still largely dictated and controlled by the zonal office, answerable to the regional office which, in turn, is answerable to the Ministry of Education in Lima, far removed from the problems and needs peculiar to each nucleus. The NEC directors are uniquely placed to see what must be done in their own districts but their ability to take effective action is circumscribed by directives handed down from above. What would seem to be required is not merely theoretical 'encouragement' of imagination and flexibility but actual training courses to stimulate these qualities in the man on the spot.

Nor is it only the directors who should be helped to deploy their imagination and resourcefulness. Whatever goals may be proclaimed, and however estimable these may be, whatever policy may be adopted, and however farsighted this may seem, nothing can be achieved without teachers (and, needless to say, all those, whether extension workers, members of promotional teams, or *promotores*, in direct contact with the community) whose awareness

and sense of commitment is sufficiently intense, even though their academic qualifications may be limited, to arouse that same awareness and commitment in others. At present (and this cannot be expected to change overnight) a certain proportion of teachers are addicted to old methods, conditioned by old concepts, imbued with a conservative notion of their tasks. Attitudes and behaviour, however, cannot be changed through demagogic slogans and political indoctrination; the emphasis must be rather on in-service training devoted to concrete educational themes and directly linked to the teachers' own experience. At the same time, teachers must be involved in the planning of curricular changes, again in the light of their practical knowledge and experience. If training and participation begin with the teachers' own needs, interests and problems, critical awareness - 'conscientization' - will become part of the dialectical process and praxis leading at last to political clearsightedness and a willing commitment to the new Peru.

Much also remains to be done to improve the material circumstances of teachers in the more remote rural areas where the situation is often not unlike that prevailing when the original NECs were established some thirty years ago. It is not just a question of providing reasonable living conditions, essential as this undoubtedly is, but of eradicating or at least mitigating the fatal sense of isolation in such areas as the Pampa de Anta. A real (as distinct from a theoretical) and permanent (as distinct from spasmodic) connexion with the *centro base* and with the other constituent educational centres of the nucleus is indispensable and yet it is still not a reality. Without this connexion, common problems, instead of being cauterized through free discussion, will continue to fester, and common solutions will continue to seem unattainable. The nuclear system itself could be imperilled by the single factor of isolation within the structure.

Another form of isolation - what might be called intellectual isolation - is scarcely less dangerous in that it has sometimes engendered, not merely among the general public but occasionally among teachers, NEC directors and zonal and regional directors, an altogether false conception of the actual significance and purpose of the NECs. They are not, and were never intended to be, mere networks of educational centres. The criteria which dictate their implantation are not simply educational, they are also social, economic and political. Their task is not just to provide instruction but to act as 'guardians', to ensure that there is no dichotomy between what is enunciated by the government and what is

actually done within the community, for the community, and by the community. The law which stipulates how the indigenous population of the Selva is to be protected becomes something like a provocation when, as is sometimes the case, those living in the Selva see it adroitly interpreted to favour the settlers rather than the Indians. It is a responsibility of the NEC to detect and eliminate just such abuses as this.

Only when the true vocation of the NEC in all its ramifications is universally understood can the rest become a reality - authentic participation, intersectorial co-ordination, the bringing together of the whole nation in a dynamic movement towards social justice, cohesion, dignity and independence.

Appendix I

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Purpose of this section: To understand the objectives of the New Education

Purpose of this study sheet: Importance of Personal and group management

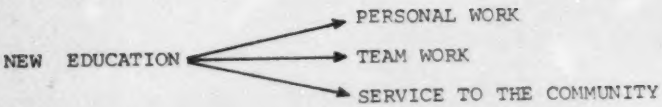
The third aspect of the New Education which we should like to incorporate into the CECOM is that of self-government. One of the negative aspects of our present society is seen in the numerous types of dependence - political, economic, social and even personal; this is why there is so much manipulation and social climbing in our midst.

In contrast to these negative aspects, personal and team work are making good progress.

We should like the students to instruct themselves by means of the information sheets, by engaging in manual work, visiting other places of interest, discussing with other students, etc. As you acquire the habit of acting independently and reach intellectual and emotional maturity, teaching aids and texts can be left aside and you can take on the responsibility of creating or constructing projects worked out by yourselves. In this way you have an excellent opportunity of educating yourselves on your own initiative.

Self-development blends perfectly with team work. As we have already seen, our whole personal development is based on a constant relationship with other people since we live in society and need each other. Let us bear in mind that personal education does not mean an individualistic education. Group work is also necessary as we are enriched by the criticisms and contributions of fellow-students.

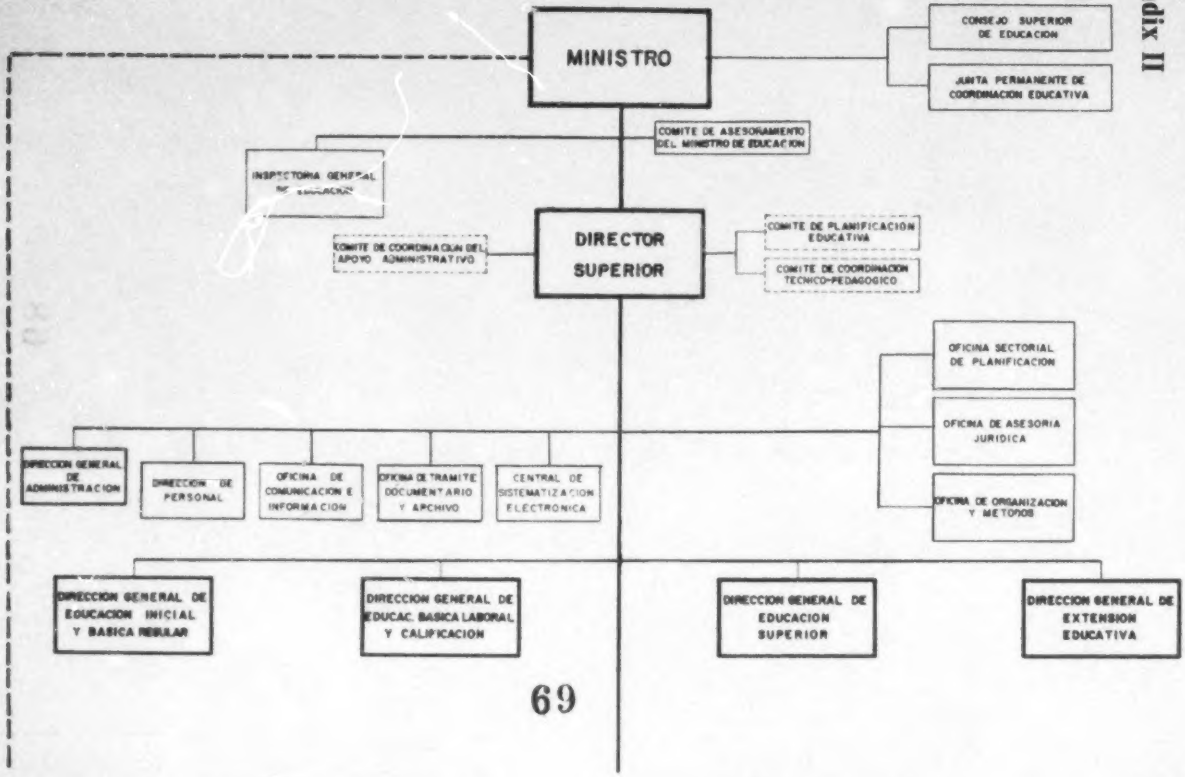
As we are working towards a different society in which one of our objectives is to strengthen community spirit, team work will be one of the best means at our disposal in reaching these objectives.



Questionnaire

1. Why is it important to learn to guide oneself personally?
2. Why is it necessary to work as a team?
3. Who benefits from team work?
4. In what aspects did we fail, in previous years, to achieve an authentic personal apprenticeship and good team work? Why?
5. Give some suggestions as to how to improve both aspects this year.

ORGANIGRAMA DEL SECTOR EDUCACION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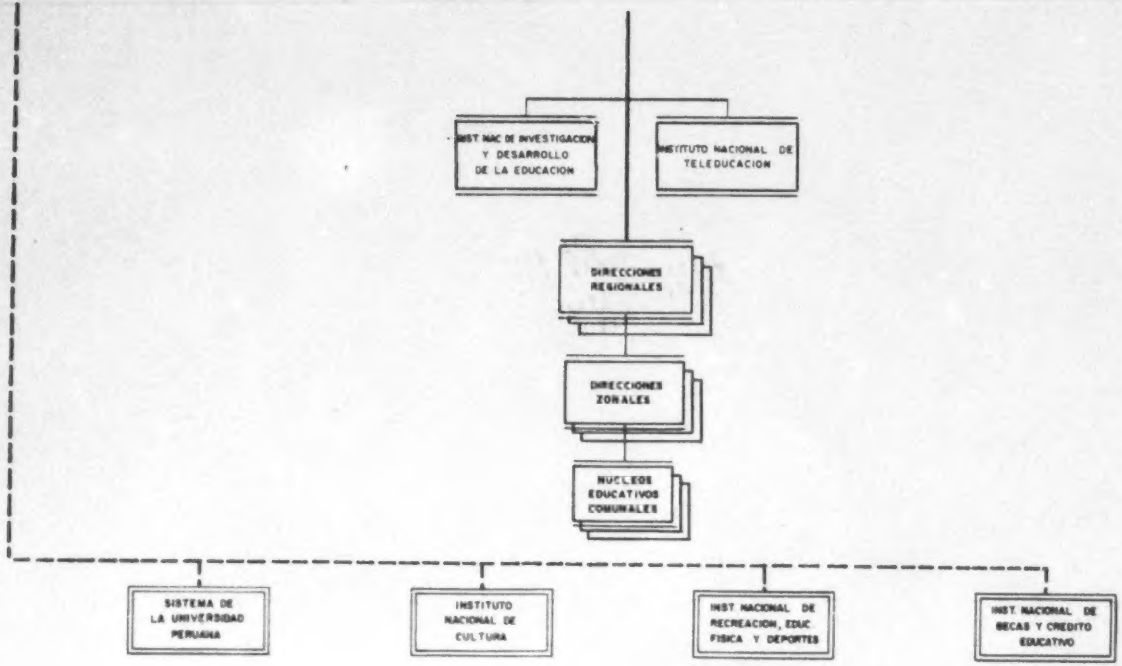
CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE EDUCACION
JUNTA PERMANENTE DE COORDINACION EDUCATIVA
COMITE DE ASESORAMIENTO DEL MINISTRO DE EDUCACION
INSPECTORIA GENERAL DE EDUCACION
DIRECTOR SUPERIOR
COMITE DE PLANIFICACION EDUCATIVA
COMITE DE COORDINACION TECNICO-PEDAGOGICO
COMITE DE COORDINACION DEL APOYO ADMINISTRATIVO
OFICINA SECTORIAL DE PLANIFICACION
OFICINA DE ASESORIA JURIDICA
OFICINA DE ORGANIZACION Y METODOS
DIRECCION GENERAL DE ADMINISTRACION
DIRECCION DE PERSONAL
OFICINA DE COMUNICACION E INFORMACION
OFICINA DE TRAMITE DOCUMENTARIO Y ARCHIVO
CENTRAL DE SISTEMATIZACION ELECTRONICA
DIRECCION GENERAL DE EDUCACION INICIAL Y BASICA REGULAR
DIRECCION GENERAL DE EDUCAC. BASICA LABORAL Y CALIFICACION
DIRECCION GENERAL DE EDUCACION SUPERIOR
DIRECCION GENERAL DE EXTENSION EDUCATIVA


INST NAC DE INVESTIGACION Y DESARROLLO DE LA EDUCACION
INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE TELEDUCACION
DIRECCIONES REGIONALES
DIRECCIONES ZONALES
NUCLEOS EDUCATIVOS COMUNALES
SISTEMA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD PERUANA
INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CULTURA
INST NACIONAL DE RECREACION, EDUC FISICA Y DEPORTES
INST NACIONAL DE BECAS Y CREDITO EDUCATIVO

Questionnaire (16)

To develop the series further, it would be helpful if readers could record their impressions and inform the IBE. (Please write 'yes' or 'no' in the space following each question. Further comments may be written on the back of this sheet.)

1. Do you find the author's analysis useful for your own work? ☐ in particular, is it:
   - an adequate survey of the field? ☐
   - a basis for further discussion and study? ☐
   - too abstract to be useful? ☐

2. With regard to the sources cited, could you indicate any recent documents of a similar type which have been overlooked?

3. Can you indicate any cases of innovation in your own country (or field of specialization) which you feel might have interest for other countries if adequately written up? Please name the person or institution able to provide further information about the project.

Please indicate your name and address and return this questionnaire to: the International Bureau of Education, Palais Wilson, 1211 Geneva 14, Switzerland or, when applicable, to your Unesco Regional Office for Education (i.e. Bangkok, Dakar or Santiago).

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL REPORTING SERVICE

The principal aim of this service is to provide information about innovations which have a high relevance to developing countries. It will be designed to serve educational leaders in such countries, particularly those who decide policies and plan and administer education systems, so that they may be aware of the various possibilities open to them. Thus the IERS is seen as one instrument for helping in the renovation of national systems of education. It follows that the reports issued by the service will deal with subject areas of priority concern to developing countries. The emphasis lies on case materials about new ways of organizing the teaching and learning process which appear to lead to improved and wider educational opportunities without undue cost.

Although the IERS is placed in the IBE, it is taking shape as a network programme rather than a centralized operation. The Unesco Regional Offices for Education and the field programmes of Unesco as well as of Unicef, ILO and FAO are associated as partners in the service. Still more important, national institutions for educational information and research will be involved, to carry out studies and to supply and use the information, so that the network for exchange of innovatory experiences will be a reality.

The reporting service will become visible initially through a variety of documents such as indexes, abstracts, case studies, topic-centred papers and a newsletter; subsequently it is hoped to add non-print materials also. From the outset the IBE and Unesco Regional Offices wish to encourage requests for information, for it is by its response to the needs of users that the IERS will finally prove its value.

The IERS programme has been made possible through voluntary financial contributions to a special Unesco account by a number of international and bilateral agencies and national institutions. The seven donors at present are Unicef, the aid agencies of Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the International Development Research Centre (Ottawa) and the Ford Foundation, who have offered support for a first period of three years.

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72